

BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
THE LEADING CAUSES
OF THE
HANCOCK MOB,

IN THE YEAR 1846.

BY JOSIAH B. CONYERS, M. D.,
QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

SAINT LOUIS:
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1846.

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HANGS ON

IN THE YEAR 1881

BY GEORGE H. BOWMAN, M. D.

CHICAGO, ILL.

SAINT LOUIS

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY J. H. BOWMAN & COMPANY

Corner of Third and Olive Sts. St. Louis, Mo.

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A BRIEF HISTORY

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LEADING CAUSES OF THE HANCOCK MOB.

PROPOSING, as we do, to give a succinct history of the rise and progress of the late Mob in Hancock County, Illinois, we shall, of necessity, be obliged to make references to persons, as well as to places and things, which, under ordinary circumstances, might be properly omitted. But, on a subject of the magnitude of the one that we are about to take up, that involves a question of human life, as well as the constitution and laws of our beloved country, it becomes, then, one of too much responsibility to touch lightly, or to suppress, to whom praise or blame belongs. If humanity and the laws have been observed, then, indeed, we shall not be censured for noting persons, as well as places and things; as then, only, we shall be reiterating and making known, at home and abroad, that just mead of praise that should be given to him that has acted his full part in the tragedy. But on the contrary, if humanity and the laws have been wantonly and violently assailed, it would, then, be not only cowardly in us not to censure, but to become guilty, as a faithful chronicler, of the events that have transpired, of suppressing facts to which the world at large have an undoubted right. Great and important events, to wit: battles fought and victories won, the glory of which belongs to some one, does not come by chance; and we certainly will not be censured for attempting to make a record of the facts, and point out to whom that glory belongs; especially when we propose to make the witnesses in the case testify to their own praise or blame. In this history we shall pass over all the violence connected with the murder of the two Smiths, in the Carthage jail, in 1844, and commence with the proceedings that recently ended in the expulsion, from Nauvoo, of from one to two thousand Mormon women and children, a few hundred

able-bodied men, and *new citizens*, together with the government officers.

The first witness we propose to call, in the above case, is S. M. BARTLETT, the editor of the Quincy Whig. In this editor's paper, of Wednesday, September 17th, 1845, we find the following items of intelligence, headed "*Mormon Disturbances*:"

"We have," said Mr. Bartlett, "some particulars of Mormon disturbances in the northern part of this county, in Lima Precinct, known as the 'Morley Settlement.' Our particulars are not very full, and we give them as they come to us. It seems the Anti-Mormons, in the settlement, determined to hold a meeting and devise some means of ridding that section of thieves, believed to infest it. The meeting was accordingly held, and during its deliberations—as the story goes—a gun or guns were fired against, or in the house, in which it was held. These guns, it is alleged by the Anti-Mormons, were fired by the Mormons. The consequence was, that the whole settlement took fire at once. Great exasperation prevailed against the brethren of Nauvoo, and in public meeting it was resolved to *expel* the obnoxious lovers of other people's pork, beef, honey, horses, &c., from the borders of Adams County. Last Thursday evening, we believe, was selected by the Anties for the commencement of their operations; and we understand they did assemble, and actually proceeded to extremities so far as destroying several Mormon houses, and committing other depredations upon their property. In these assemblages the people were armed, and manifested a most determined spirit to carry into execution their threats against the Nauvooites.

"Such incidents as these are multiplying every day, to show that the Mormons, with their bigoted, selfish, illiberal notions, cannot live in quiet with ordinary people—and it is not difficult to foretell what these differences will eventually result in."

"P. S.—We learn the depredations of the Anti-Mormons were more extensive than were generally supposed. Something like twenty houses were burned down, and the families compelled to take refuge in the bushes. Thursday night must have been a severe one to the women and children, who were compelled to lay out, as it rained nearly the whole night."

"*Seriously*," continued Mr. Bartlett, "*these outrages should be put a stop to at once; if the Mormans have been guilty of crime, why punish them, but do not visit their sins upon defenceless women and children. This is as bad as the savages.* It was further stated that a reinforcement was expected from Nauvoo to protect the Mormons at 'Morley's.' And that the Anties were concentrating their forces to give them battle. It is feared

that this rising against the Mormons is not confined to the "Morley Settlement;" but that there is an understanding among the Anties, in the northern part of this and Hancock County, to make a general sweep, burning and destroying the property of the Mormons, wherever it can be found. If this is the case, there will be employment for the executive of the State, and that soon.

"We learn, that on Sunday last, a company of twenty-five men, commanded by Senator Davis, of Hancock, left Warsaw for the scene of difficulty, with the design of aiding the Anti-Mormons. Capt. Dunn, of Augusta, is at the head of a large force of Anti-Mormons; and the Sheriff of Hancock—rumor has it—is about to march to the same point, to apprehend the Anti-Mormons. A breeze may be expected if these elements of opposition meet in force—and that a serious one.

"Some of the Mormon families, who were dispossessed of their dwellings at Lima, have taken refuge in this city.

"It is plain to be seen that the Mormon difficulties are just commencing. All that has gone before will not be a priming to that which is to come. The difficulties will never cease, so long as the disturbing cause remains in the country."

"STILL LATER.—News from above was received late on Monday night. The outrages were still continued. The flouring mill, carding machine, &c. of Norman Buel, a Mormon, one mile and a half west of Lima, is now a heap of ashes.

"Col. Levi Williams, of Green Plains, has ordered out his brigade, it is said, to aid the Anti-Mormons. The Anti-Mormons from Schuyler, and the adjoining counties, are flocking in, and great distress of life and property may be expected. HEAVEN only knows where these proceedings will end. It is time the strong arm of power was extended to quell them."

It must be conceded by all, that the above extract looks like a very fair and candid account of the commencement of the mob violence in that county, which finally, as we shall be able to show, resulted in the expulsions above named. It gives us pleasure, in connexion with this subject, to be able to state, that the remarks Mr. Bartlett here makes, in connexion with the account given of the house burnings, were such as truly comported with the dignity and candor of a respectable editor of the press. He here spoke himself, and spoke in behalf of humanity and the law. He here spoke out boldly, that violence was resorted to, and that helpless women and children were thrown out into the storm. "And," said he, "Seriously, these outrages should be put a stop to at once;" that it was

"as bad as the savages;" and called on the strong arm of power to quell them.

We repeat, again, that S. M. Bartlett here spoke himself, uninfluenced by the demagogues of the day. He spoke as a philanthropist and patriot; and had he been left to himself, in all probability he would never have appealed to any other power than the strong arm of the law; and our beloved country saved from the deep and damnable disgrace of banishing from our land, by mob violence, innocent women and children.

But here this unfortunate editor took leave of his senses on this subject—never more to return. He fell into the hands of professed friends, to become their organ of mob violence; but, we fear, the worst enemies that he could have fallen among. In our opinion Mr. Bartlett will ever have just cause to regret, to the latest day of his existence, that he stooped from the proud and high toned dignity, put forth in the above article, to become the organ of a foul and an unprincipled mob.

Before his next week's paper came out, a public meeting was held in Quincy, at the Court House. This subject was taken up and discussed, and the doctrine of mob violence boldly proclaimed, in a very inflammatory style, by a number of the principle members of the bar in the city of Quincy. Mr. Bartlett stooped to the humiliating position, to become the herald of their violent and startling doctrines, viz: that the Mormons must leave their country, and their homes, by force or otherwise. Hence, in his next week's paper, we hear him obsequiously heralding forth the following sentiments. Here, by the way, we will just stop to say, in our opinion, could Mr. Bartlett have had sufficient firmness of purpose and character, to have resisted and withstood the councils of his *particular* friends, and have spoken out again in his next week's paper, boldly, in opposition to their mobocratic doctrines, and in favor of the strong arm of the law, he might have earned for himself an enviable character amongst the editorial corps, that would have been remembered, with gratitude and respect, by his fellow-citizens, after his voice and pen were silent in the tomb. But hear him in his next week's paper:

"We have," said Mr. Bartlett, "just returned from one of

the most interesting public meetings we have attended for years. It did our souls good to see the unanimity which prevailed, and the determined stand taken by our people, in favor of the suffering citizens of Hancock." Now, the truth is, Mr. Bartlett's enthusiasm, as expressed in the above, was not from any resolutions that were passed, expressive of the sense of said meeting; but, from the decidedly inflammatory speeches of certain gentlemen, who, it seems, chose to lead off in that meeting. For the purpose of showing what effect those speeches had, we will first give some of the principal resolutions, that were reported by a committee, to said public meeting, which was held Monday evening, Sept. 22d, 1845, drawn up previous to hearing the speeches. Secondly, Mr. Bartlett's own version of the speeches; and thirdly, the resolutions that were reported, a few days after, to another meeting, convened to hear the report of the committee that had been sent to Hancock county, by the first meeting.

"*Therefore, Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this meeting, (and it is their firm conviction,) that the safety of Nauvoo, as well as the welfare of the other citizens of this State, will be best subserved by their removal to some country, in which their peculiar organization will not endanger the public peace; and that, if this measure be not pursued, they ought, at least, to break up their present organization, as a distinct community, and amalgamate with the general population of the State.

"*Resolved*, That, in the event of such a conflict as is alluded to, and deprecated in the foregoing preamble, the Mormons, warned by past experience, may expect, that the strength and sympathy of an overwhelming majority of the people will be against them.

"*Resolved*, That this meeting does not intend to approve or condemn the conduct of either of the parties in Hancock county; but, to express its sober conviction as to the probable consequences of the present unhappy state of things, and to commend them to the serious attention of all who are interested therein."

The above resolutions, that were reported to the meeting, before the committee had become excited by the inflammatory speeches to which we have already alluded, must be admitted, were comparatively pacific and temperate in their demands. The first recommended their removal to some place remote from

any community, of which their peculiar organization would be likely to come in conflict; but, if that could not be complied with, at least, they ought to disperse, or *amalgamate* with the people of the State. Let our reader note this last sentence, viz: Amalgamate with the general population of the State, and compare it with one that we will give you presently, reported by the same Chairman of the Committee, to another meeting, only a few days after. The second is likewise temperate, with the exception, only, of the word *strength*, that could be construed with the balance of the resolution, to mean much or little, as occasion might require; but the third, peculiarly temperate,—they here refused to *approve* or *condemn* the conduct of either of the parties. But, in the second place, I will give Mr. Bartlett's own account of the speeches that were made on that occasion.

"Judge RALSTON," said Mr. Bartlett, (here it is proper to inform the reader, that Judge Balston's speech, as alluded to here, was in opposition to violence of any kind,) "was followed by C. A. WARREN, Esq. He was truly eloquent and startling in his remarks, and the old citizens of Hancock received full justice at his hands. He advocated the proposition, that a committee of one thousand, from this county, visit Hancock, and bring the Mormons to terms."

"Previous to this, however, a Committee of five, consisting of Messrs. I. N. MORRIS, H. ASBURY, A. PEARSON, T. KELLEY, Maj. J. H. HOLTON, and JOHN B. SCHWINDLER, were appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the views of the meeting. The preamble and resolutions reported by this committee, will appear in our next. They are strong, and to the point. The preamble recites the wrongs and outrages which the Mormons have brought upon Hancock; and the resolutions in substance declare, that the Mormons cannot live in peace with the old citizens of that county; and that a Committee of five be appointed, to visit Nauvoo, with the proceedings of this meeting, and ascertain from that people, as to what are their future intentions as to leaving the State. The resolutions also disapproved of the burning of Mormon dwellings, and pronounced such acts unlawful, &c.

"While the committee were out, several gentlemen spoke. After Mr. Warren, O. H. BROWNING, Esq., made a spirit-stirring speech, and advocated immediate measures in aid of the old citizens of Hancock. He was followed by A. JONAS, Esq., in a most pointed and able speech.

The next called out was I. N. MORRIS, Esq. His speech was a scorching one, and created great applause. We have said many hard things of this man, but can forget a great deal, after his excellent speech of Monday evening. He, like Mr. Jonas, said, if one party or the other were compelled to leave Hancock, he, for one, was decidedly in favor of the Anti-Mormons remaining. (tremendous applause.)

"O. C. SKINNER, Esq., of Carthage, made some interesting statements, showing the outrages of which the Mormons had been guilty.

"ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq., was called out, and spoke to the point for a few minutes. He was of the opinion that, if we do not assist the old citizens now, we shall have to do it hereafter; and if there is not something done soon, the scenes in Hancock will be enacted at our own doors. "We," said Mr. Bartlett, "echo the sentiment, decidedly."

"GEORGE C. DIXON, Esq., was called out, and took the Anti-Mormon side of the question, in a strong and sensible speech. He was for immediate action. He was very severe upon the Executive of the State, for the loose and indefinite manner in which he administered the laws. The applause with which his speech was received, shows that a spirit is aroused amongst our people, which will not be quenched, until the backs of the Mormons are turned upon Illinois.

"Finally, an amendment proposed by ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq., to the resolutions, which gave power to the Chairman to call another meeting, so soon as the Committee of five shall return from Nauvoo, was adopted, together with the resolutions, by an unanimous vote.

"The proposition," continued Mr. Bartlett, "for a Committee of one thousand, to visit Hancock, meets with universal approbation.

"Public sentiment is decidedly against the Mormons—THEY MUST GO; and Backenstos feel the full force of the law for killing Worrel!! Our best lawyers pronounce it an act of murder, for which the Sheriff had not the shadow of law."

The writer well remembers the time, and was present, and heard the speeches that the editor of the Quincy Whig comments upon, in the article above; and, in his opinion, he has not given them too high a coloring. He will never forget the impressions that these speeches made, at that time, on his own feelings. It was the first time in his life, that he had ever heard a resort to lawless violence, advocated and proclaimed by men in high places, in order to excite the unthinking multitude

to deeds of violence. He had always been taught to look to such men as these, to throw their weight of character and influence, to restrain the unthinking from going into extremes.

He then thought, that when such men as these advocate such doctrines, and in the style that was used on that occasion, that the populous would be sure to carry them out to their ultimate extreme.

For the purpose of showing that this mob spirit was occasioned by the speeches of that meeting, we refer our reader to the article which we have already quoted, from the Quincy Whig; in which paper, only the week before, the editor denounced them, (*the Anti-Mormons*), "as bad as the savages;" and called on the strong arm of power to quell them. Take, also, the resolutions that were being drawn up by the committee, at the very time that these inflammatory speeches were made, in which the ultimatum, that was required, was, amalgamation among the other people of the State; and in which they refused to approbate or condemn either of the two parties; and, at the most, their sympathy and strength, if called out, would be on the Anti-Mormon side. We say, take all the expressions up to the time that C. A. WARREN opened his mob speech—which was followed by O. H. BROWNING, and others—there was not the slightest indication in this community of a resort to violence. That there was a desire, and an expression for the Mormons to leave, is true; but that there was the slightest indications, on the part of our citizens, generally, to resort to violent measures to accomplish said object, we deny. Only one year before, when the two Smith's were murdered in the Carthage jail—when certain individuals were despatched from Carthage and Warsaw to Quincy, in order to make a false report, viz: that the attack had been made by the Mormons, and they expected that these two places were then burnt to ashes, and Gov. FORD and his detachment murdered; while they must have known, at the same time, that the Smith's had been murdered by a base and treacherous mob of Anti-Mormons. These reports wrought our citizens up to the highest degree of excitement, and three hundred armed men were on board of a steamboat, in the short space of a few hours. And who does

not recollect, that when "all aboard," that our worthy Mayor, JOHN WOOD, Esq., stepped forward, and waved his hat, and called out aloud to his fellow-citizens, as a signal for three cheers for the Constitution and the Laws; that our citizens, both on the boat and the wharf, (hundreds of them being there,) made the welkin ring with applause and approbation. Who does not know that, when our men arrived at Warsaw, and learned the true state of the facts in the case—and when they were urged by the people of Warsaw, and of Hancock county, to join them in a war of extermination of the Mormons,—that they sternly refused, and returned to their homes in disgust—and for which they received the curses of hundreds of the people of Hancock county? Who, we ask, that has a patriot's, and an American heart, that beats warm in his bosom, who loves and respects the Constitution, and Laws of his country, does not look back to these facts with pride, and with pleasure?

We all remember that fatal Monday evening, Sept. 22d, 1845, when the pride and honor of the citizens of Quincy, or a portion of them, at least, through the influence of the speeches to which we have alluded, ceased from that time forth, to abide with becoming confidence, in the strong arm of the law. What a withering gloom must come over our spirits, when history records the painful and melancholy truth, that the people of Quincy, or a portion of them, can no more, from that time forward, claim for themselves that respect which is due a law-abiding community; but, by public meetings, resolutions, speeches, and other public acts, have won for themselves, if not for their children, a large share of that disgrace and infamy, that an intelligent world will be sure to call down upon the actors in the scene.

We cannot for our life, and respect the truth, while we sincerely wish it was otherwise, do less than admit, that the spirit of lawless violence, that was raging in Hancock County at that very time, was recognised and endorsed by these very men, on that evening, and clothed with authority, and an impetus given to it, which continued to accumulate, from that time onward, until it resulted in the late expulsions of Mormons, as well as other citizens, indiscriminately, from that county.

But to show how the opinions, of certain men, continued to change after this public meeting was held. We will give a short paragraph from the Quincy Whig, only a few days after, No. 24, 2nd page, 2nd column:

"It is a settled thing," said Mr. Bartlett, "that the public sentiment of the State is against the Mormons, and it will be in vain for them to contend against it; and to prevent blood shed, and the sacrifice of many lives on both sides, *it is their duty to obey the public will, and leave the State as speedily as possible.* That they will do this, we have a confident hope—and that too, *before the last extreme is resorted to—that of force.*"

Mr. Bartlett says here that public opinion was against them, and that it was their duty to obey. Two weeks before, precisely, he was calling on the strong arm of the law to stop the *old citizens*, and denouncing them "*as bad as the savages;*" but they, the Mormons, *must go*, forsooth, public opinion of the State is against them. How did he find this out?

But we will call the attention of the reader, in the third place, to the report of the committee sent to Nauvoo:

"At half-past one," (the day of the week and month not named, but between the issues of the two papers, and in less than a week's time, the proceedings of both meetings being published in the same number of the Quincy Whig, and on the same page,) "a public meeting was called at the Court House, to hear the report of the committee returned from Nauvoo, A. WILLIAMS, Esq., in the Chair. HENRY ASBURY, Esq., on the part of the committee, made a report of proceedings, while on their mission to Nauvoo. They arrived in the city of the Saints on Wednesday; but as the twelve were absent at Carthage, they had no communication with them until their return, which was about nine o'clock in the evening. They addressed a communication to the twelve, enclosing the proceedings of the meeting held in Quincy, informing that body of the object of their mission, and asking the twelve to inform them, in writing, as to their present intentions in regard to leaving the State. A communication was received, soon after, from the twelve, inclosing a printed proposition, which will be found in another part of this paper. In their note, they say that they do not expect any people will purchase their temple; but that they would be willing to loan it to any respectable community for a church, college, or something of that sort. The committee returned an answer, that they think the proposition of the Mormons was fair in some respects—but they hardly think it was as full and decisive, as under the circumstances, was ne-

cessary. At the conclusion of the report, Mr. H. ASBURY submitted a series of resolutions, which were not entirely satisfactory to all, and upon motion of I. N. MORRIS, Esq., amended by A. JOHNSTON, Esq., it was moved that a committee of nine be appointed by the Chair to report upon the resolutions, at early candlelight, of the same evening. The chair appointed, as the committee of nine, Messrs. I. N. MORRIS, J. N. RALSTON, JOHN P. ROBBINS, C. A. WARREN, J. H. HOLTON, O. H. BROWNING, A. JONAS, GEORGE C. DIXON, C. M. WOODS.

"According to adjournment, the meeting assembled at early candlelight. The committee of nine reported the resolutions, which follow; several of them being in substance the same as recommended by the Nauvoo committee:

"*Resolved*, That we accept, and recommend to the people of the surrounding counties to accept, the proposition made by the Mormons to remove from the State next spring; *but we accept it as an unconditional proposition to remove. We do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligation to purchase their property, or to furnish purchasers for the same, but we will, in no way, hinder or obstruct them in their efforts to sell; and will expect them to dispose of their property and remove at the time appointed.*

"*Resolved*, That it is now too late to attempt the settlement of the difficulties in Hancock County upon any other basis than that of the removal of the Mormons from the State.

"*Resolved*, That whilst we shall endeavor, by all means in our power, to prevent the occurrence of anything which might operate against their removal, and afford the people of Nauvoo any ground of complaint, we shall equally expect good faith upon their part; *and if they shall not comply with their own proposition, the consequences must rest upon them who violate faith. And we now solemnly pledge ourselves to be ready, at the appointed time, to act as the occasion may require;—AND THAT WE WILL IMMEDIATELY ADOPT A PRELIMINARY MILITARY ORGANIZATION, FOR PROMPT FUTURE ACTION, IF OCCASION SHOULD DEMAND.*

"*Resolved*, That, in our opinion, the peace of Hancock county cannot be so far restored as to allow the desired progress to be made, in preparing the way for the removal of the Mormons, while J. B. BACKENSTOS remains Sheriff of said county; and that he ought to resign said office."

The above are some of the principal resolutions that were reported, and adopted in said meeting. The first one, in our opinion, is unique. They accepted and recommended to the people of the surrounding counties, to accept an unconditional proposition to remove. But understand Mr. Mormons', though we accept this, and recommend the surrounding counties to do

so, likewise, (reprobate you, unconditionally,) we do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligations to purchase your property, or to furnish purchasers; but we will be *very kind and obliging*, and will, in no way, hinder or obstruct you in your efforts to sell, *Provided*, nevertheless, this shall not be so construed, as to prevent us from running off the purchasers. But we expect this small favor of you, viz: that you must dispose of your property, and leave at the appointed time.

The second resolution demands a passing notice. It stands in the 5th column, and 2d page, of the 24th number of the Quincy Whig; and on the same page stands two resolutions, passed a few days before, and reported by the same Chairman of the Committee, viz: I. N. MORRIS, Esq., in which to *amalgamate* amongst the people of the State, would be satisfactory, and in which they positively refused to approbate or condemn either of the two parties; but now "it is too late to settle the Mormon difficulties" &c. Verily, there is much meaning in the words "*too late*."

In the third resolution we have the child fully born. A MILITARY ORGANIZATION RECOMMENDED—AN ARMY TO BE RAISED. And by whose orders—by what law—and for what purpose? We answer without orders, without law, and to drive free citizens, men, women, and children, from their homes and their country, as the sequel will clearly show. An additional resolution was adopted at the same meeting, reported in the same number of the Quincy Whig, that reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed, for the purpose of adopting, and carrying into operation, volunteer military organizations for Adams county; and said committee are hereby authorized to do all things, lawful, necessary and proper, for the purpose of preparing such a force, without delay, to be used, to preserve the peace of this and the adjoining counties."

Yes, "*preserve the peace*." The law had no peace officers, in the eyes of these men. An army must be raised for said purpose. But who are to commission the officers; and "you are hereby authorized," or commissioned, by whom; the Governor of the State? No!

We, at a public meeting in Quincy, commission you to "*do all*

things lawful, necessary and proper ;" an unlawful organization, to do all things *lawful*: verily, these men are entitled to their diplomas, as Logicians. Mr. BARTLETT, himself, closed up this part of the great drama, in the following language:

"Messrs. Morris, Johnston, Goodwin, Dixon, Jonas, Warren, Browning, and others, participated in the discussion upon these resolutions, and they were finally adopted, by an unanimous vote. *But one spirit—one mind—seemed to prevail on the occasion; and that was a removal of the Mormons from the State; peaceably, if possible; BUT LEAVE THEY MUST.*"

We now propose to call the attention of our reader to what is called their—the Mormon's—"own proposition," of which the Quincy committee returned for answer, "that they thought the proposition of the Mormons was fair in some respects—but that they hardly think it was as full and decisive, as under the circumstances, was necessary;" and which we may set down as the true basis that called out the above resolutions, and which resolutions were intended as a reply.

We find the following on the same page of the Quincy Whig that the above resolutions are:

"NAUVOO, Sept. 24, 1845.

"WHEREAS, a council of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, at Nauvoo, have this day received a communication from Messrs. Henry Asbury, John P. Robbins, Albert G. Pearson, P. A. Goodwin, J. N. Ralston, M. Rogers, and E. Conyers, committee of the citizens of Quincy, requesting us to "communicate in writing," our disposition and intention at this time, particularly, with regard to removing to some place where the peculiar organization of our Church will not be likely to engender so much strife and contention that so unhappily exists at this time, in Hancock and some of the adjoining counties.

"And, whereas, said committee have reported to us the doings of a public meeting of the citizens of Quincy, on the 22d inst., by which it appears there are some feelings in that place concerning us, as a people, and in relation to which sundry resolutions were passed, purporting to be for the purpose of maintaining or restoring peace to the county.

"And, whereas, it is our desire, and ever has been, to live in peace with all men, so far as we can, without sacrificing the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of our own consciences, which privilege is granted by the constitution of these United States; And, whereas, we have, time and again,

and again, been driven from our peaceful homes, and our women and children been obliged to exist on the prairies, in the forests, on the roads and in tents, in the dead of winter, suffering all manner of hardships—even to death itself—as the people of Quincy well know; the remembrance of whose hospitality, in former days, still causes our hearts to burn with joy, and raise the prayer to heaven for blessings on their heads;—And, whereas, it is now so late in the season that it is impossible for us, as a people, to remove this fall, without causing a repetition of like sufferings; And, whereas, it has been represented to us from other sources than those named, and even in some communications from the executive of the State, that many of the citizens of the State were unfriendly to our views and principles; And, whereas, many scores of our houses in this county have been burned to ashes, without any justifiable cause or provocation, and we have made no resistance, till compelled by the authorities of the county so to do, and that authority not connected with our Church; And, whereas, said resistance to mobocracy, from legally constituted authority, appears to be misunderstood by some, and misconstrued by others, so as to produce an undue excitement in the public mind.

“And, whereas, we desire peace above all other earthly blessings; Therefore, we would say to the committee above mentioned, and to the Governor, and all the authorities and people of Illinois, and the surrounding states and territories, that we propose to leave this county next spring, for some point so remote, that there will not need be any difficulty with the people and ourselves, provided certain propositions, necessary for the accomplishment of our removal, shall be observed, as follows, to-wit:

“That the citizens of this and the surrounding counties, and all men, will use their influence and exertions to help us to sell or rent our properties, so as to get means enough that we can help the widow, the fatherless, and the destitute, to remove with us.

“That all men will let us alone with their vexatious law suits, so that we may have the time, for we have broken no laws; and help us to cash dry goods, groceries, good oxen, beef cattle, sheep, wagons, mules, horses, harness, &c., in exchange for our property, at a fair price, and deeds given on the payment, that we may have the means to accomplish a removal, without the suffering of the destitute to an extent beyond the endurance of human nature,

“That all exchanges of property be conducted by a committee, or committees, of both parties; so that all the business may be transacted honorably, and speedily.

"That we will use all lawful means, in connection with others, to preserve the public peace, while we tarry; and shall expect, decidedly, that we be no more molested with house-burning, or any other depredations, to waste our property and time, and hinder our business.

"That it is a mistaken idea, that we 'have proposed to remove in six months,' for that would be so early in the Spring, that grass might not grow, nor water run; both of which would be necessary for our removal. But we propose to use our influence, to have no more seed time and harvest among our people, in this county, after gathering our present crop; and that all communications to us be made in writing."

By order of the Council,

WM. RICHARDS, Clerk.

BRIGHAM YOUNG, Pres't.

The next item of history to which we propose to call the attention of the reader, is the Carthage Convention. We will here give the preamble and resolutions entire, as we regard the proceedings of this Convention as authoritative and confirmative of all others. And as we have, in our reports of the Quincy meetings, owing to their great length and frequent repetition, left out the preambles, and some of the unimportant resolutions, mostly of a local character. And as it is our desire to give a full and impartial history, we will here insert them entire:

CARTHAGE CONVENTION.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF A CONVENTION; HELD AT CARTHAGE,
IN HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS, ON TUESDAY AND WED-
NESDAY, OCTOBER 1st AND 2d, 1845.

*Published by order of the Convention, under the Superintendence of the Military
Committee of Quincy, Illinois.*

Agreeably to previous arrangements, the delegates, appointed to meet in convention at the town of Carthage, to take into consideration the state of affairs in Hancock county, assembled at the Court House in said place, at half past eleven o'clock, October 1st, 1845.

On motion of Col. J. W. Singleton, the Convention was called to order, by appointing I. N. Morris, Esq., of Adams county, President. Whereupon, Col. Wm. Ross, of Pike county, was appointed 1st. Gen. James McCallen, of Warren county, 2d, and John Kirk, Esq., of McDonough county, 3d, Vice Presidents.

Alva Wheeler, of Knox county, was appointed Secretary, and George Robinson, of Schuyler, and Wm. H. Benneson, of Adams, Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of O. H. Browning, the delegates from the several counties, were requested to furnish the President with a list of their names. that the same might be recorded by the Secretary. Whereupon, there appeared for the county of

ADAMS—A. Williams, O. H. Browning, I. N. Morris, Wm. H. Benneson, O. C. Skinner, J. B. Chittenden, and Levi Stillman.

BROWN—A. G. Alexander, Lewis Giberson, Jackson Drago, J. W. Singleton, G. B. Richardson and Angus M'Fail.

HENDERSON—N. Hopper, J. M'Fee, J. S. Pealee, Horatio Curtz, A. G. Tremble, Samuel Logan, Robert Crownover.

M'DONOUGH—John Kirk, John M'Cord.

PIKE—Wm. Ross, W. H. Peters, L. Scott, A. O. Hewit, Robert Willis, James Ross, and M. J. Noyce.

SCHUYLER—James Worthington, G. W. Robinson, and A. Montgomery.

WARREN—John H. Mitchell, Yost Huffman, A. C. Harding, David Morrow, Daniel M'Neil, James M'Callen, Wm. C. Maley, Thos. Struthers, Jamison Leeper, M. G. Smith, Wm. Cowan, Alexander Gilmore, and George Gilmore.

MARQUETTE—S. M'Gennis, John Downing, H. A. Cyrus, C. Ballow, S. M. Harding, J. A. Bell, H. Robinson, W. H. Chapman, and Frederick Collins.

KNOX—John Jackson, H. S. Woods, and Alvah Wheeler.

The Convention then adjourned, to meet again at half-past 2 o'clock, P. M.

HALF-PAST 2 O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order by the President.

On motion of O. H. Browning, a committee, consisting of three delegates, where that number were in attendance from each county represented, was appointed, to prepare a preamble and resolutions expressive of the sense of this Convention, and report the same at its next sitting. Messrs. Browning, Skinner, and Chittenden, of Adams; Singleton, Giberson, and Alexander, of Brown; Logan, and Crownover, of Henderson; Jackson, and Wheeler, of Knox; M'Cord, of M'Donough; Cyrus, Ballow, and M'Ginnis, of Marquette; Noyce, Hewit, and Scott, of Pike; Robinson, Montgomery, and Worthington, of Schuyler; Morrow, A. Gilmore, and Leeper, of Warren—composed said committee.

7 O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Convention again assembled pursuant to adjournment.

The committees appointed in the afternoon, not being prepared to make their reports, the Convention adjourned to meet again to-morrow morning, at 8 o'clock.

8 O'CLOCK, THURSDAY MORNING, OCT. 2.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment and was called to order by the President.

The committee appointed to prepare a preamble and resolutions, reported, through O. H. Browning, their chairman, which after some able and interesting remarks from Messrs. Browning, Chapman, Williams and Scott, were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the county of Hancock, before the settlement therein of the community called Mormons, was as peaceable, orderly, well regulated, and law-abiding, as any county in the State; and no disturbances had ever occurred among the citizens of said county requiring the interposition of the authorities of the State, but they had deported themselves with a degree of propriety and order not inferior to that which has characterized the citizens of other counties; and whereas, since the Mormons have been settled in said county, difficulties and collisions have frequently arisen between them and the other citizens of said county, of so serious and violent a character as to call for the interposition of an armed force, under the authority of the State, to quell and suppress the same; and whereas, from our long acquaintance with the old citizens of Hancock county, and our intimate knowledge of their honor, integrity, and strict observance of the laws of their country, and from our knowledge of the predatory disposition, and lawless course of the Mormons, we are thoroughly convinced that all the disturbances in the county have grown out of the continual and unceasing depredations of the Mormons upon the persons and property of the other citizens of Hancock, and the surrounding counties; and whereas, we are satisfied that no people, however quietly disposed, can live in the immediate neighborhood of the Mormons without being drawn into collision with them, and without a resort to arms for self protection; and

whereas, we, as citizens of the State of Illinois, and as citizens of the counties immediately surrounding, and adjacent to the county of Hancock, are deeply interested in terminating the scenes of violence which have recently been enacted in said county, and in restoring peace and good order therein; and whereas, we believe the difficulties now existing in said county are above and beyond the reach of the laws, inasmuch as the laws can only be administered through the instrumentality of the officers and juries of the county, and inasmuch as the officers of said county whose duty it is to select the juries are either Mormons, or under Mormon influence, having been elected by them; and whereas, no Mormon can be brought to justice in said county, for any offence, however great its enormity, inasmuch as they are banded and confederated together to sustain, protect, and defend each other, in all acts, however daring and lawless;—and larceny, robbery, perjury, and murder, in their most aggravated forms, therefore, go unpunished; and whereas, we are satisfied that peace and harmony can be restored to the county, only, by the separation of the Mormons and the other citizens of the county; and whereas, we are not willing to consent that the old citizens of the county, (who are among the best citizens of the State,) shall be driven out, and a community of thieves, robbers, and assassins retained in their stead; and whereas, the Mormons, have submitted to the citizens of Quincy, a proposition whereby they agree to remove from the State next Spring. Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the settled and deliberate conviction of this convention, that it is now too late to attempt the settlement of the difficulties in Hancock county upon any other basis than that of the removal of the Mormons from the State; and we therefore accept and respectfully recommend to the people of the surrounding counties to accept the proposition made by the Mormons to remove from the State next Spring, and to wait with patience the time appointed for removal.

Resolved, That whilst we shall endeavor by all means in our power to prevent the occurrence of anything which might operate against their removal, and afford them any ground of complaint, we shall expect equal good faith on their part; and if they do not comply with their own proposition, the consequences must abide with themselves; and we now solemnly pledge ourselves to be ready, at the appointed time, to act as the occasion may require.

Resolved That we recommend to the people of the several counties represented in this convention, and to the people of the military tract, generally, immediately to adopt a military organization, in order to provide for the preservation of peace in said counties; to act in relation to the affairs of Hancock county as future exigencies may require; and to carry out the views expressed in the preceeding resolutions.

Resolved, That we expect, as an indispensable condition to the pacification of the county, that the old citizens be permitted to return to their homes, unmolested by the present Sheriff, and the Mormons, for any thing alleged against them; and that any attempt on their part to arrest or prosecute such citizens for pretended offences, will, inevitably, lead to the renewal of the late disorders.

Resolved, That as the Mormons are banded together for their mutual protection, and are under the control of a few leaders, and beyond the reach of law, the whole body should be held responsible for all lawless acts against the persons, or property, of our citizens.

Resolved, That we utterly repudiate the impudent assertion so often, and so constantly put forth by the Mormons, that they are *persecuted for righteousness sake*. We do not believe them to be a persecuted people. We know that they are not; but that whatever grievances they may suffer are the necessary, and legitimate consequences of their illegal, wicked and dishonest acts.

Resolved, That this Convention deem it proper to recommend that a small military force be stationed in Hancock county until next Spring, to prevent depredations on private property, and preserve the peace of said county; and that it be respectfully, yet earnestly, recommended to the Executive of this State to furnish the same for the purposes above named.

On motion of J. H. Mitchell, it was *Resolved*, That should the Mormons,

between this and their leaving in the spring, continue to commit depredation and outrages upon the property or persons of the old citizens of Hancock, or other counties, that we now give them fair notice, that we will hold ourselves ready at a moment's warning, and pledge that our fellow-citizens of the counties we represent will meet with us, *en masse*, immediately upon such facts being made known to us; and march to Hancock, to put a final and summary end to such outrages.

On motion of J. W. Singleton, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to report to this Convention, an efficient plan for organizing volunteer companies, in compliance with the resolutions of the Convention; and that said committee make report thereof, at 12 o'clock.

The Convention then adjourned, to meet again at 12 o'clock.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The committee on Military Organization, made the following report: The Committee on Military Organization, report to the Convention the following plan of Organization:

That the counties of the Military Tract hold meetings in the several precincts, on the 3d Saturday of October, instant—and organize into companies, all persons who may volunteer in support of the proceedings of this Convention—and that said companies elect their officers—and that the Captains of such Companies, when organized, or hereafter to be organized, report by the first day of November, to A. Jonas, Andrew Johnston, J. H. Holton, E. J. Phillips, and Jas. B. Schwindler, constituting a Military Committee at Quincy, Ill., the number in their companies, number and kind of arms, and names of officers elected.

That the Military Committee at Quincy, shall have full power and authority, after receiving the report of Captains herein before provided for, to appoint a time and place for the meeting of all the Company officers, for the purpose of electing field officers; which time and place shall be notified to the Captains of Companies, and the Captains of Companies shall notify all other officers of their Companies, respectively; and that said Committee have full power and authority to order all the reported force into the field, by fixing on a point of rendezvous, when, in their judgment, such an emergency has arrived, as is contemplated by the resolutions and proceedings of this convention.

On motion of A. C. Harding, the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That the Military Central Committee residing at Quincy, be requested to act as a committee to procure and superintend the printing of the proceedings of this Convention, accompanied with such a number of the affidavits reported to the Convention, by the committee on evidence, as they may think proper.

O. H. Browning offered the following resolution, which was enthusiastically adopted:

Resolved, That the Hon. N. H. Purple, Judge of this Judicial Circuit, be requested not to hold a Court in Hancock county, this fall; as, in the opinion of this Convention, such Court could not be holden without producing collision between the Mormons and Anti-Mormons, and renewing the excitement and disturbances which have recently afflicted said county.

On motion of O. H. Hewitt, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the papers of this State be requested to publish the proceedings of this Convention, and that three thousand pamphlets, containing the proceedings of this Convention, be printed, to be distributed under the direction of the Military Committee, at Quincy, whose duty it shall be to forward each delegate to this Convention with a copy of the same; and that a collection be now taken up to defray the expenses of said publication.

J. H. Mitchell submitted the following, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the President and Vice Presidents, for the able manner in which they have presided; and to the Secretaries, for the faithful and efficient manner in which they have discharged their duties.

A motion was then made that the Convention adjourn, when the President arose and expressed his high gratification at the signal unanimity which characterized the proceeding of the Convention; and, inasmuch as he had no opportunity of participating in its action, he took that occasion to say, that what they had done met his cordial approbation, and had no doubt would meet the approbation of the people, generally; and thanking the members for the efficient aid they had rendered him in discharging his duty, he declared the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.

I. N. MORRIS, President.
WILLIAM ROSS, 1st Vice Pres't.
JAS. MCALLEN, 2d do
JOHN KIRK, 3d do

ALVA WHEELER, Secretary.
GEORGE ROBINSON, Assistant Secretary.
WM. H. BENNESON, do. do.

The resolutions, as given above are, nothing more than a re-adopting of the same that were passed in Quincy, but a very few days previous—it being only eight days from the time the first public meeting was called in Quincy. It is proper for us here to remark, that during the deliberations of this Convention, there was a Committee appointed to collect *evidence* in relation to the depredations of the Mormons, of which ARCHIBALD WILLIAMS was Chairman—who, on behalf of said Committee, made a report, with a number of affidavits appended thereunto, which was wholly and entirely an *ex-parte* concern. And as there is the most indubitable evidence, which we have already given, that there were aggressions on the part of the Anti-Mormons also, the investigation of which belongs properly to the Courts and the Laws of our country; and because, since said report and affidavits were made out and published by said Convention, the leader of the banditti, as they then chose to style the Sheriff of Hancock county, has since been tried, and acquitted by a jury of twelve men, at Peoria; so far from the scene of disturbance, as to acquit the jury of all suspicion of partiality.

The proposition again being brought up at the Carthage Convention, and adopted, to organize a military force—it having first came from a public meeting in Quincy—which, in the opinion of said Convention, entitled her to the honor of having the Military Committee; accordingly, the head quarters of this mob army was so stationed there. Those Commanders-in-Chief being clothed with full "power and authority, (not this time to do all things lawful, necessary, and proper,) after receiving the report of Captains herein before provided for, to appoint a

time and place for the meeting of all the company officers, for the purpose of electing field officers; and that said Committee have full power and authority to order all the reported forces into the field, by fixing on a place of rendezvous, when, in their judgment, such an emergency has arrived, as is contemplated by the resolutions and proceedings of this Convention;” or, in other words, to levy war against the rights and lives of free citizens, in the face and eyes, and in the defiance of the laws and authority of the State, which the sequel will fully show was done. And we ask what evidence have we to the contrary, that it was not done by order of said committee? And without a formal declaration, that it was not, is it not fair to presume it was?

In the proceedings of this Convention, it seems that a motion was made, by a leading member of the bar, the purport of which was politely requesting the Hon. N. H. PURPLE not to hold a Court in said county, which was adopted, (so says the report,) by acclamation. Instead of appealing to the legal tribunals of the country, and lending their influence to aid the Court in enforcing the law against all offenders whomsoever, here are learned members of the bar preparing resolutions, calling upon the Judicial Court to step aside, and give full sway to the lawless, to be adopted by acclamation by hundreds of men, many of whom were just out of a mob of house-burners, the smoke of which had not yet passed out of view.

In the next number of the Quincy Whig, October 12th, we find the following:

“The people of Quincy were the first to propose a military organization; their suggestions have been adopted by the other counties in convention, at Carthage, and it is their duty to do that which they themselves recommended.”

Again, on this subject, we find in the Quincy Whig of Oct. 19th, 1845, the following, from the pen of Mr. Bartlett:

“ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE!!—This should be the order of the day with all who desire to see the proceedings of the Carthage Convention carried into effect. Organize into companies, that in the Spring we may present a front that will convince the Mormons that the people of the surrounding counties are not to be trifled with.

“Other counties are organizing, according to the recommen-

dation of the Carthage Convention. We hear from Brown that a large company is already organized, under the direction of the chivalrous Singleton. As we here in Adams were the first to move in this matter, it becomes us to set the example to other counties. If the Mormons violate their pledged faith, and fail to leave in the Spring according to their own proposition, they may be certain that CIVIL WAR *will be stirred up in these counties*, that will not be quelled until the last vestage of Mormonism disappears from the State." (True prophet, Mr. Bartlett.) "Let us then organize in time for any emergency that may arise. Enrol your names and show that your practice is in accordance with your professions."

In the above article we have a clear pointing to the sequel. And mark, that this item of the history brings us down, (so said Mr. Bartlett,) "that in the Spring we may present a front that will convince the Mermons that the people of the surrounding counties are not to be trifled with."

Mr. Bartlett, in the above, boldly asserts, that "CIVIL WAR" was to be the final result of all their parade—of passing resolutions—and getting up military organizations.

In evidence that this Military Committee were actually at duty, and in the receipt of the intelligence of the organization of companies. We now call the attention of the reader again to the Quincy Whig of Nov. 19th, 1845, 3d page, 6th column.

"NOTICE TO VOLUNTEERS."—In the returns which are made to the Military Committee, it is frequently asked whether arms can be furnished to companies, unprovided with them. In answer to all these questions, the committee wish to say, that there are no arms at their disposal; and that the companies which have been, or may be formed, will be expected to arm themselves. *By order of the Committee.*"

We shall now examine the evidence, showing that the Mormons acted in good faith to "their own proposition;" and then we shall take up and examine, whether the Anti-Mormons kept their pledged faith, viz: "that whilst we shall endeavor, by all means in our power, to prevent the occurrence of anything which might operate against their removal; and afford them any ground of complaint, &c." We will now turn the attention of the reader to the Quincy Whig of Oct. 29th, 3d page, 3d column:

"From Nauvoo," said Mr. Bartlett, "we hear that the Mormons are getting ready to leave. They are very anxious to

dispose of their property, on the most reasonable terms. There is a great opening in that county, at the present, for monied men. Farms, in high state of cultivation, with good buildings upon them, can be purchased at very moderate rates. The Mormons will receive in exchange for their property, wagons, beef cattle, of course, and almost everything needed by an emigrant."

Again, in the Quincy Whig of March 11th, 1846, 2d page, 1st column, we find the following:

"But, we believe, it is well ascertained that they, the Mormons, will leave the State—and that an organized party of seven or eight hundred souls, have already crossed the Mississippi, on their way west—and that another company is preparing to start about the 20th of the present month. There will, doubtless, be a large number who will desire to remain; but one thing is certain, there will be no peace for them in Hancock. The recollections of the past are too strongly engraved upon the minds of the old settlers of the county, for them to listen or agree to any terms of compromise with a people who have brought upon them so many grievous burthens, and whose career, from first to last, has been marked with every species of crime, and the violation of every social and religious obligation. The old settlers of the county will be satisfied with nothing less than a full and complete agreement with the terms of the Carthage Convention of last September; and, we tell the Mormons, *individually and collectively*, that the counties represented in that convention are determined that the *mandate* of that body shall be carried out to the *letter*. In fact, a *military organization* has been effected in the counties aforesaid, with the *determination*—and if the necessity arises, for the exercise of the *strong arm of power* to effect the object, that power will be forthcoming at the *appointed time*."

In the Whig of the 25th of March, 2d page, 1st column, Mr. Bartlett again reiterates the same sentiment:

"But, we believe, they are leaving the State as fast as their means will admit."

In the Quincy Whig, Tuesday, April 21st, 3d page, we find the following letter from Major Warren, commander of the Hancock Guards, copied, (said Mr. Bartlett,) from the Nauvoo paper:

CARTHAGE, April 16, 1846.

WM. E. MATLOCK, Esq.:—Will you permit me, through the medium of your paper, to announce to the citizens of Hancock, that I have been directed by his Excellency, Gov. Ford, to dis-

band the force under my command on the first of May proximo? It seems to be the understanding of the executive, and the State at large, that the terms stipulated for the removal of the Mormons will expire on that day, I indulge a hope that the understanding so general may not be disappointed.

The removal of the *entire Mormon population* has been looked forward to as an event that could alone restore peace and quiet to this portion of our State; and, for the peace of the inhabitants, and honor of the State, public expectation must be gratified.

With great respect, I am, &c.,

W. B. WARREN,

Major Commanding Illinois Volunteers."

Mr. Bartlett adds, himself, immediately below the above:

"We understand from the above," said he, "that Gov. Ford intends to comply, and is determined that the Mormons shall comply with the terms of agreement entered into by that people with the State authorities last fall, viz: that, as soon as water run, and the grass grew, this spring, the Mormons were to leave the State. That time has arrived, and the Mormons are given to the first of May to fulfil their agreement. If, after that time, the Mormons still remain in the STATE, the Governor will not be accountable for the *outrages that may be the consequence.*"

In the same column of the Quincy Whig, a little lower down, he says: "We are permitted to copy an extract of a letter from a *leading Anti-Mormon*, at Carthage, dated April 17th:

"The Governor has given orders for disbanding the troops on the 1st of May; I fear the consequences. It is extremely doubtful if an outbreak can be prevented, till the last, or even the middle of May; in which case, the ruin of our county is almost inevitable. It would take long to rally the people of surrounding counties, so early in the season; and the extremity must be great which could call them from their farms, before seeding and planting were over. Many of us will spare no efforts to keep things quiet; but there are many others, I am convinced, who are anxious for a *row*; and I know of no power to prevent their setting one on foot."

In the same paper from which we have extracted the above intelligence, is found the following:

ANTI-MORMON MEETING.—"As the troops are about to disband in Hancock county, by order of the Governor, a meeting of the citizens of Adams county, will be held at the Court House, in Quincy, on THURSDAY EVENING, at 7½ o'clock, to consider the subject of *the removal of the Mormons from this State.*"

Now let us call the attention of the reader to the above extracts. First, there is a fair acknowledgement, from a *leading Anti-Mormon* of Carthage, communicating the intelligence, that it would be exceedingly difficult to prevent a row, and that there were *many determined on having one*. But the most astonishing of all is, that the Military Committee should deem it of sufficient account to issue orders forthwith, for a public meeting at the Court House. What they could see in such a threatening state of things as the above extract brings to view, demanding a public meeting, we are totally unable to say; but such are the facts in the case. And the proceedings of said meeting we now proceed to give in full, and beg leave to call the close attention of the reader to them.

Quincy Whig, April 29th, 1846, 2d page, 4th column:

"ANTI-MORMON MEETING IN ADAMS COUNTY."

"Agreeable to previous notice, the citizens of Quincy assembled at the Court House, in said place, on Thursday Evening, April 23d. The meeting was called to order, by appointing A. WILLIAMS, Esq., Chairman, and W. H. BENNESON, Secretary.

"On motion of I. N. Morris, a Committee of five was appointed, to draft and report a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the sense of this meeting. I. N. Morris, E. J. Phillips, Col. Chittenden, B. T. Osburn, and Capt. Schwindler, constituted said Committee.

"After a few moments retirement, the Committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, the embittered and active hostilities existing between the Mormons and the old citizens of Hancock, and the north part of this county, reached such a crisis during last fall, that it became necessary for the surrounding country to interpose, in order to effect a permanent settlement of the difficulties; And, Whereas, it was evident to all, that nothing short of the removal of the Mormons from the State, would restore peace and quiet to the county; And, Whereas, the citizens of this city and vicinity, deeply impressed with the truth of this sentiment, and sincerely desirous of terminating the controversy existing between the contending parties—appointed a committee to visit Nauvoo, and ascertain from the Mormon leaders, or the 'Twelve,' their views and feelings relative to removing from the State; And, Whereas, the 'Twelve' submitted a printed proposition to said committee, that they would remove from the State, together with all their people, as soon in the spring 'as grass grew and water run.'—(That it is a mistaken idea, that we have proposed to remove in six months, for that would be so early in the spring, that grass might not grow, nor water run—both of which would be necessary for our removal. But we propose to use our influence, to have no more seed time and harvest among our people in this county, after gathering our present crop.) And (Provided certain propositions, necessary for the accomplishment of our removal, shall be observed, as follows, to wit: that the citizens of this and the surrounding counties, and all men, will use their influence and exertions to help us to sell or rent our properties, so as to get means enough that we can help the widow, the fatherless and the destitute, to remove with us)—which is 'Their own Proposition;' And, Whereas, said Committee reported said proposition to an adjourned meeting held in this city, and recommended its adoption; And, Whereas, said meeting did accept said proposition, and have acted upon it in good faith; And, Whereas, a Convention of the counties surrounding Hancock, subsequently met in Carthage, pur-

sued the same course, and accepted the proposition of the Mormons to leave in the spring, and pledged themselves to abide patiently the time appointed for their removal; And, Whereas, it has been necessary during all the intervening time for the Executive to keep a military force in Hancock, at a great expense to the State, to ensure tranquility, and assist in the execution of the laws; And, Whereas, we are authentically informed, that His Excellency will withdraw said troops from said county, on the first of May; And, Whereas, we are, also, informed, from sources we deem entitled to the highest credit, that it is the intention of only a part of the Mormons to remove this spring; and, whereas, such a course would be a flagrant and manifest violation of their most solemn pledge, would be trifling in a most shameful manner with the public feeling, and disappointing public expectation, at the very moment when we were all so fondly and anxiously expecting to see permanent order and tranquility restored to the county; And, Whereas, if the Mormons, or any part of them, pursue their present and intended suicidal course of remaining in the State beyond the time agreed on for their removal, a most fearful and deadly strife will be the certain and inevitable consequence—a strife that will be marked by all the desolating horrors of a CIVIL WUE! And, Whereas, as such a state of things is to be deeply deplored, we deem it our imperative duty to avert so dreadful a calamity, if possible; And, Whereas, the character and conduct of the Mormons is so well known, and the necessity of their removal so apparent to all, that to attempt an exposition of the one, or assign the reason for the other, would be a work of supererogation, and an insult to the intelligence of the community. Therefore,

Resolved, That an attempt on the part of any of the Mormons, to remain in the State after the time appointed for their removal, would be a palpable and shameless violation of their pledge, and the consequences be upon themselves.

Resolved, That nothing short of the removal from the State, this spring, of the entire people called Mormons, will satisfy public feeling and expectation, and fulfil their engagement, most solemnly entered into, to remove 'as soon as grass grew, and water run.'

Resolved, That we most solemnly warn the Mormons not to heed the counsel of political demagogues, or Jacks, as we believe they are governed by the basest of motives, in their efforts to retain them in the State; and as their advice will be hereafter, if they remain, as it has been heretofore, "a mill stone about their necks."

Resolved, That should any part or portion of the Mormons attempt to remain in the State, after the time expires for their removal, they will find, as they have always heretofore found, an overwhelming majority of the people against them.

Resolved, That it would be the height of madness and folly, for the Mormons, or any portion of them, to attempt a violation of their pledge to remove, as such a course would, with unerring certainty, bring down the retributive vengeance of the old citizens of Hancock, and the surrounding counties, upon them, and lead to their summary expulsion from the State, and, we fear, to their extermination.

Resolved, That the citizens of Adams county occupy the same position in relation to the Mormons that we have heretofore occupied towards them, and in case of a renewal of hostilities between them and the old citizens, they will find us "doing battle" with the latter.

Resolved, That to suffer the Mormons to remove from Hancock, into our own county, would be aggravating the evil—and we warn them against doing so; while we will assure those already arrived here, that this county is as deeply and sincerely desirous of getting rid of them, as Hancock is of getting rid of those within her limits; and they are equally expected to remove with their brethren, and save us from any other turmoil or difficulty."

"During the pendency of the preamble and resolutions, the meeting was severally addressed by Messrs. Warren, Johnston, Jonas, and Morris. On motion of Andrew Johnston, it was Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and trans-

mitted to the people of Hancock county. That they also be published in the newspapers of this city. The meeting then, on motion, adjourned.
 E. "W. H. BENNESON, Sec'y. A. WILLIAMS, Chairman."

While, candidly and seriously, gazing at the above preamble and resolutions, we can scarcely believe our own senses, and realize that these resolutions were ever got up and passed in the city of Quincy. That, upon the receipt of such intelligence as the above, from that county, such resolutions as the foregoing must needs be passed by a public meeting, and that, not enough—but transmitted to Hancock—to us is unaccountably strange. If there is not exhibited, in the above resolutions, a characteristic progressive spirit of mob violence, when compared with those that had gone before, then are we unable to see any thing. We do not believe that these men, when they commenced their system of public meetings, intended to drive on to such ulterior extremities, and bold thrusts at individual rights. Are such bold and daring thrusts as these levelled at Mormonism alone, and will the weight of the blow be spent there? We can tell those gentlemen that they are not; Mormonism is not hurt, nor even wounded, by them. These are blows that lodge far above the heads of Mormons—the force of which are spent on the constitution of our beloved country;—a strike at the tree of liberty. They are revolutionary in their character, and if permitted to pass unnoticed, unrebuked, will be our country's ultimate ruin. The doctrine of *expulsion* had even become *too mild*, this time, to satisfy these men—not enough to threaten women and children with banishment from their homes, collectively and individually, "But we fear," said they, "their *extermination*." Does not the reader see at once that these doctrines are directly in the face, and a thrust at the constitution of the United States, and of this State? And do these men presume to imply that an individual Mormon, henceforth and forever, can no more live in Illinois? Do they mean to assert that there is no individual Mormon as honest and upwright in his deportment as themselves? If they have a mind to call this in question, we can point them out the man in Quincy; and we will give them a man who is a *brother* to at least three of the military committee. And does not this fact show, that these men, however rational on other subjects,

they were certainly insane on this, or wantonly wicked, whichever they may choose? But did these men foresee that the very engine of lawlessness, and invasion of individual rights, to say nothing of the community, was so soon to result in the expulsion of hundreds of citizens—not Mormons—from the limits of Hancock county? We do not believe they did, or wished it so; yet it has been done.

The next item of intelligence, to which we shall call the attention of our reader, we find in the Quincy Whig of Wednesday morning, May 6th, headed "*Things in Nauvoo:*"

"A meeting was held," said Mr. Bartlett, "in Nauvoo, on Friday of week before last, to take into consideration the present aspect of the Mormon question. The resolutions are quite mild, and declare it, as the belief of the meeting, that the Mormons are emigrating as fast as they possibly can, and that they are sparing no exertion to accomplish that end. A gentleman from Nauvoo informs us, that at this meeting, Backenstos, Babbit, Edmunds, and a few others of that stripe, were quite officious in the meeting, making motions, preparing resolutions of a character calculated to inflame the public mind, and provoke acts of aggression in Hancock; but owing to the exertions of a gentleman, by the name of Clark—a new-comer from Pennsylvania—supported by Capt. Clifford, late of this city, resolutions of a more reasonable character were adopted. Mr. Clark openly declared to the meeting that he could not approve the resolutions proposed by the Mormons and their particular friends. That if he was in a Mormon meeting he would like to know it; but that he came there with a far different intention than of being a tool of the Mormons. Such in substance were the views of Capt. Clifford; and, judging from the resolutions adopted on the occasion, moderate councils must have prevailed. We learn that the Jacks about Nauvoo, who are connected with the Mormons by sympathy and interest, are fast losing what little influence they ever had; and that the new comers are mostly *well-informed, respectable* people, who have no sympathy with Mormons."

In the Whig of May 13th, Mr. Bartlett again said:

"We conversed last week with a gentleman from the eastern part of Hancock, an old citizen, (good witness,) of that county. We learn from him that in that section the Mormons have all left, and their places been supplied by an industrious and respectable class of new comers, who have no taint of Mormonism. He tells us that a gentleman, by the name of Clark, from Pittsburgh, or vicinity, has recently visited the county, and

after looking over it, has bought farms enough for twenty-six families, and has returned to bring them out. Others are coming into the county, single and in pairs, and taking up the vacant lands, and the whole population in the county appears to be changing for the better. Hancock is one of the best counties in the State, for fertility of soil and agricultural advantages, and would now have been the most prosperous were it not for the curse of Mormonism. Happily, this is being removed, and we may hope that her destiny, for the future, will be a more cheering one than it has been of late years. We learn there is yet vacant lands that can be had at the most reasonable rates."

Then comes the report, in Mr. Bartlett's next paper, of May 20th, of Maj. Warren, Capt. Morgan, Lieuts. Prentice and Henry, officers in the service of government:

"By which it appears," said Mr. Bartlett, "that the Mormons are leaving the city with all possible despatch; during the week four hundred teams have crossed at three points, or about 1350 souls. In the same time two hundred heads of families have come into the city. About three-fourths of the improved property on the "flat," has changed hands; on the hill the proportion of sales is not near so great—*very few farms remain unsold.*"

Now here is shown, from Mr. Bartlett's own paper,—first from a public meeting of the new citizens,—secondly, from an old citizen,—thirdly, from four Government officers, all bearing testimony to the same point, viz: that the Mormons were leaving with all possible despatch. In one week, 1,300 souls crossed the Mississippi, emigrating, and 200 heads of families moved in. Three-fourths of the improved property on the "flat, (the most valuable part of the city,) already changed owners, and very few farms unsold." This testimony, by men known personally to Mr. Bartlett, three of whom were of his own citizens, and the fourth, Major Warren, brought before the people of Illinois, by this very editor, as a suitable man, as a candidate for Governor of the State. We should have thought the testimony of these men would have silenced the croaking of Mr. Bartlett, forever.

But, Major Warren, in addition to the above, over his own signature, officially, in a proclamation to the people of Hancock county, published in the same number of the Quincy Whig, makes use of the following decided language:

"TO THE CITIZENS OF HANCOCK COUNTY.—The undersigned again deems it his duty, to appear before you in a circular. It may not be known to all of you, that on the day after my detachment was disbanded at Carthage, I received orders from the Executive to muster them into service again, and remain in the county until further orders.

I have now been in Nauvoo with my detachment a week, and can say to you with perfect assurance, that the demonstrations made by the Mormon population, are *unequivocal*. They are leaving the State, and preparing to leave, with every means God and nature has placed in their hands. Five ferry boats are running at this place night and day, and many are crossing at Nashville and Fort Madison. This ought to be satisfactory.

The Anti-Mormons desire the removal of the Mormons; this is being effected peaceably, and with all possible despatch. All aggressive movements, therefore, against them at this time, must be actuated by a wanton desire to shed blood, or to plunder. This course, I know, is deprecated by three-fourths of the Anti-Mormon population, and must not be indulged in. I, therefore, exhort all good citizens to stay at home, with an assurance that they shall be duly advised of all movements which may take place, in which they feel interested.

A man of near sixty years of age, living about seven miles from this place, was taken from his house a few nights since, stripped of his clothing, and his back cut to pieces with a whip, for no other reason than because he was a Mormon, and too old to make successful resistance. Conduct of this kind would disgrace a horde of savages.

Captain Agnew, near Pontoosuc, has received written orders over the signatures of Major M'Calla and Colonel Levi Williams, to rendezvous his company at Pontoosuc, next Friday, armed and equipped according to law, and other notices of a similar character, I have no doubt, have been issued to other portions of the county.

How Squire M'Calla and Colonel Williams can reconcile conduct of this kind with the resolutions adopted at Carthage, a few weeks since, determining to await the action of the neighboring counties,* (in the adoption of which resolutions, they both acted a conspicuous part,) is not for me to say. But, I beg leave to remind them, that an order was issued last fall, (when the troops came into the county,) that not more than

*Major Warren did not know that orders had been sent up from head-quarters at Quincy, to-wit: That should any part or portion of the Mormons attempt to remain in the STATE, they would, with unerring certainty, bring down the retributive vengeance of the OLD CITIZENS of Hancock and the surrounding counties upon them, and lead to their summary EXPULSION from the State—or EXTERMINATION; and that Squire M'Calla and Col. Williams were only carrying out said orders from said head-quarters, to-wit: go ahead with your ROW, we'll stand by you.

four armed men, should assemble together, other than the State troops. This order has never been withdrawn, and *will be enforced*.

The force under my command is numerically small; but backed as I am, by the moral force of the Law, and possessing, as I do, the confidence of nine-tenths of the respectable portion of the old citizens, my force is able to meet, successfully, any mob which can be assembled in the county; and if any such force does assemble, they or I will leave the field in double-quick time.

To the Mormons I would say, go on with your preparations, and leave as fast as you can. Leave the fighting to be done by my detachment. If we are overpowered, then re-cross the river and defend yourselves and property.

The neighboring counties, under the circumstances, cannot and will not lend their aid to an unprovoked and unnecessary attack upon the Mormons, at this time; and without such aid, the few desperadoes in the county can do but little mischief, and can be made amenable to the law for that little.

W. B. WARREN,

Major, Commanding Illinois Volunteers.

NAUVOO, May 11th, 1846."

The above proclamation needs no comment. He states, in unequivocal terms, that the Mormons were using all the means that God and nature had given them, in order to get off. That aggressive movements on the part of the Anties must be from a desire to *shed blood* or *plunder*. That they had dragged an aged man from his bed, at the dead hour of night, stripped him, and lacerated his back, for no other reason than because he was a Mormon, or too old to make successful resistance. That the notorious M'Calla and Williams had, over their own signatures, issued orders for a company to rendezvous at Pontoosuc, contrary to law, and for violence. These facts were made known officially, and published in the Whig. How Mr. Bartlett, with them staring him in the face, could lend the influence of his paper, as he afterwards did, in aiding and encouraging this mob, we cannot but ask him to explain. And how Gov. Ford, with such facts before him, could reconcile it with his sense of duty as the executive of the State, to withdraw the troops from that county, is equally a mystery to us. That he has exhibited, on this subject, a deep and unparalleled state of stupidity, as well as a total want of courage to enforce the laws, we have

been perfectly aware. But that he could be so miserably stupid, with this evidence before him, and when he had a man in the field, and on the ground, of sufficient courage to meet them, who was willing and ready to do it, we can only account for such conduct, on the part of the executive, on the ground that he was ignorant of his duty, as a public officer, or wanting a proper respect for the laws, as well as the honorable station he unfortunately occupied.

In the Quincy Whig of June 17th, we find the following:

"We received, on Saturday last, an extra from the Nauvoo Eagle—a paper owned by and in the pay of the Mormons and their friends—by which it appears that hostilities have actually commenced in Hancock. It seems, from this extra, that parties of the Anti-Mormons have assembled at different points in the county, and had commenced *driving* off the Mormons *and those who upheld them*. Those who had been driven off had taken refuge in Nauvoo, where they had reported all sorts of stories in relation to the enormities of the Anti-Mormons. These stories, it will further appear, were eagerly seized upon by the Nauvoo editor, and magnified at a wonderful rate, for the purpose of creating sympathy for the Mormons. The Nauvoo extra says that several individuals have been severely scourged with a hickory goad—and that one woman had been so severely whipped that the blood actually run from her heels. A man must have a very capacious gullet, indeed, that can swallow any such stuff. *We are willing to believe that severe measures have been resorted to*, in many cases, to compel the absence of certain obnoxious individuals; but that any woman has been treated as cruelly as the Nauvoo editor alleges, we do not, for a moment, believe. The editor tells to much for his side of the question. He acknowledges that a *deputation of Anti-Mormons had assured* the new citizens that the object of the *demonstration* was to rid the country of an obnoxious people—and not against the property of the city. But he will have it that the intention was to destroy the town and the people in it, and that for the purpose of taking care of No. 1, he has boxed up his type, &c. So much for the Mormon side of the question.

"On the contrary, the Anti-Mormons say they are now as they have been from the first, determined to make the Mormons comply with their pledge to leave the State. That instead of fulfilling their pledge in good faith, that from three to five thousand of them still remain in the county; that they have planted gardens, which shows a disposition to remain; that they have received a written order from the Twelve to remain in Nauvoo, and no more of them to leave; that since the rifle

guards have been disbanded there is no longer safety for property—that thefts are daily multiplying—that an organized band of thieves still remain in and about Nauvoo, believed to be Mormons—and that their patience is wore out, and their only chance is to take *the law into their own hands*, as Gov. Ford *INTIMATES, and rid the county* of the annoyance of which they have so long complained.

“This is the state of the question at the present. The new citizens at Nauvoo were justly alarmed, and were holding meetings and organizing a company for the purpose of defending the city.”

The following resolutions, passed about this time, at Carthage, found in the Quincy Whig, on the same page and in the same column, will probably give some clue to an understanding of the two stories, as Mr. Bartlett detailed them above:

“*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this meeting, the time has now arrived, when the citizens of this and the surrounding counties should take active and efficient measures to effect the entire removal of the Mormons.

“*Resolved*, That we recommend to the citizens of this and the surrounding counties, to prepare forthwith, to put into effect the resolutions of the Carthage Convention, by organizing, arming, and equipping themselves for immediate action.

“It was ascertained, on Sunday, that the Anti-Mormons had abandoned their position near Nauvoo, for the purpose, it was supposed, of collecting reinforcements.” In the same article he said again, “We are told by passengers on the boat, that the Mormons are constantly leaving as fast as they can find conveyances; and if this is the case, the present demonstrations will not be sustained by the great body of the Anti-Mormon people.”

Now, taking the evidence of the *old citizen*, viz: that the Mormons were all gone in his part (the eastern) of the county; take, also, the testimony of Major Warren, Captain Morgan, Lieutenants Prentice and Henry, to-wit: few farms remained unsold, and they—the Mormons—were using all the means that “God and nature had given them,” to go; then take, on the other hand, Mr. Bartlett’s extract from a leading Anti-Mormon at Carthage, viz: that many were determined on a row, and the resolutions last quoted above shows they were arming and equipping themselves for immediate action, should we wonder if the Nauvoo Eagle was far mistaken, and that the Anties may have made a miscalculation, when they inform-

ed Mr. Bartlett that there were from three to five thousand Mormons preparing to remain? Forsooth, a few were seen planting gardens. And was it to be presumed, because a few of the Mormons were planting a garden, that they, therefore, of necessity were preparing to stay in Hancock? Was it, indeed, the fact, that a Mormon was even to be deprived of the privilege of planting a patch of garden stuff, in order to keep his family from starving, until the necessary preparations could be made to go? Was it to be presumed every individual Mormon could have a buyer at his door, early in the spring, who would purchase his effects, and thereby give him wherewith to leave? And because they could not work a miracle and bring this about, they, therefore, to please these *redoubtable old citizens* of Hancock, must be deprived of the small favor of raising a little garden stuff, which any body but fools or madmen could but know they must do, or suffer for their daily food. Suppose they had even planted their crops, and had them actually growing—which we presume was not the case, or we would have heard of it—ready for the buyer to step in and take possession of, thereby bringing their property into ready demand, would there have been the least wrong in it, except to an *old citizen* of Hancock? If the time of these *old citizens* had been spent in purchasing and aiding them to procure purchasers, how much more creditable to them than watching their *gardens*. How much more reputable, to an editor of the press, to have been engaged in advocating the just and reasonable claims of humanity, by advertising the world of the numerous bargains that were to be obtained from these doomed and deluded people, and in this way have rendered them an essential benefit, rather than heralding forth to the world such nonsense.

Would it be any wonder, to a sensible people, that a large community of from fifteen to twenty thousand souls—hundreds of them known to be abjectly poor and destitute, and hundreds more of them, the widows of deceased husbands, who had come to an untimely grave through the exposure which their fanaticism had led them, and by the diseases incident to all new countries, and having, also, just passed through an inclement

winter, and even not permitted in the spring to plant a garden, without the public press groaning with the intelligence thereof—could be, (many of them,) in other circumstances than would make it almost indispensable for them to steal or suffer? Yet, from the people they would be most likely to steal, viz: the *new citizens*, we hear but little or no complaint.

"We give," said Mr. Bartlett, "an account of the occurrence in Hancock, to-day, from the pen of a gentleman at Carthage. This may be considered the Anti-Mormon side of the question; on the contrary, we have had a conversation with several of the new citizens of Nauvoo, who assure us that there are many mistakes in the statements aforesaid. There are less than a thousand Mormons, men, women, and children, in Nauvoo, and that number is lessening every day, from emigration that is still going on. That, if let alone, they will leave in a very short time. That no Mormons have returned to Nauvoo from the camp; and that none will return, unless they are compelled to do so, for the defence of the city. This is the statement as we have it from certain of the new citizens, at Nauvoo. We do not know what the sentiment is in other counties, in relation to the present aspect of affairs in Hancock, but so far as we can understand them, the public sentiment of this county, a disposition prevails to stand aloof, and have nothing further to do with the difficulties in that county. The Mormons, from every account, are leaving the State as fast as their limited means will allow, and it is asking too much of them to march to Nauvoo, to *exterminate* the miserable remnant of Mormons left there. When the Mormons were strong and powerful, and were guilty of crime and outrages, the citizens of the surrounding counties pledged themselves to aid in removing the annoyance; but since then the state of affairs has become entirely different—the most of the Mormons have left—and others constantly going. Then why, by any indiscreet and imprudent act, exasperate not only the remnant of Mormons left, already desperate, but also provoke hostilities with those citizens who have purchased Mormon property, and thereby defeat the very object they have so much at heart, viz: the removal of the Mormons from the State."

"A public meeting was called in this city, on Wednesday last, to take into consideration Hancock affairs. Statements were made by Messrs. Pickett and Clifford, of Nauvoo, and by Mr. Geddes on the part of the Anti-Mormons of Hancock; after explanations had been made on both sides, a motion was made for adjournment, which was carried almost unanimously. From the fact, that our citizens, in public meeting, decided to

adjourn without taking any action on the matter in controversy, we have come to the conclusion, as stated above, that our citizens are disposed to stand aloof, and to leave matters to take their own course."

We now give below the statement of a gentleman from Carthage, which Mr. Bartlett said might be "considered the Anti-Mormon side of the question," found reported in the Quincy Whig, Wednesday morning, 24th June:

"Statement, in relation to the recent occurrences in Hancock."

CARTHAGE, June 15th, 1846.

"MR. BARTLETT—Dear Sir:—This county has recently been the theatre of a drama of a singular and rather serious character, and concerning which many erroneous accounts will, no doubt, be sent abroad. I will, therefore, take the liberty of giving you a correct statement of the affair, so far as I can learn its history from others; for, owing to absence from the county, I saw and knew nothing of it, personally, up to Saturday morning last.

On Saturday, the 6th inst., there was a meeting at Carthage of the citizens of Hancock, in pursuance of previous notice, to make arrangements for a celebration on the approaching 4th of July. At an early stage of the meeting, a resolution passed, to the effect that, as the Mormons were not yet all removed from the county, its citizens were not free; and, therefore, public rejoicings for the blessings of freedom, would be out of place. The meeting then went into a consideration of Mormon affairs, and finally adjourned, to meet again on Friday, the 12th inst., to enquire why the Mormon population had not all left the county, by the first of June, according to the agreement, and to decide upon the proper mode of action, to be adopted in view of their failure to depart; and an invitation was sent to the new citizens of Nauvoo, to attend that meeting. This was designed and expected to be strictly a citizen's meeting, for the purpose of enquiry and deliberation only. But its appointment happened to be on the same day with that appointed by the Governor for the assembling of the militia of the county, to raise volunteers for the Mexican war. This circumstance suggested the idea to some person, that it might, to good purpose, be converted into a demonstration against the Mormons still remaining in Nauvoo, and quicken their motions in removing, which had, of late, very much slackened.

The suggestion was made to one of the military officers of the county, and struck him as being a good one; and without taking time to consult, or reflect much upon it, he despatched an official communication, (that is, an officer's communication, brief and decisive,) to his fellow-officers, stating that it was thought best to thus change the object of the gathering at Carthage, on Friday, and requesting them to concur in the movement, to notify their under officers and companies to appear on the ground prepared, and provisioned for a few day's campaign, or encampment. The officers to whom this communication was sent, took it for granted, that the thing was settled; that the assembling was to be for this purpose, and without stopping to decide or enquire much into the expediency of the movements, gave the required notice to the soldiers under their command. The soldiers, as is a soldier's wont, obeyed promptly, and without questioning the propriety or authority for the measure. So that, in effect, some three or four hundred men assembled on Friday, with appearances decidedly Anti-Mormon, without knowing how or why the matter was set on foot; but supposing that it was well considered and concerted somewhere, and by somebody. Neither had they any definite idea of the plan and ultimate object in view, whether they were to fight or frolic; and were, many of them, about as well prepared for one as the other.

After coming together, the question came naturally to be considered,

what they should do; and it was what the lawyers would call a *new question*. It had not, as yet, been decided, nor considered at all, by anybody. There was a pretty general inclination to march into Nauvoo, and accelerate the removal of the Mormons. It seemed to be supposed that, by threatening the reluctant, by assisting such as were unable to go, and working upon the fears of all, the city could, without violence, be cleared of Mormons in two or three days. Mistaking altogether the true condition of things in Nauvoo, and greatly underestimating the number of Mormons still there, they seemed to think that the only obstacle to their entering the city, would be the objections of new citizens, which they thought to obviate by an assurance of friendly purposes, and a pledge to abstain from all destruction or injury of property. But the objections of the new citizens were not so easily removed; they had been lied to, and abused, in reference to the character and aims of the old citizens of the county; and time and better acquaintance were required to overcome their prejudices and distrust. It was, therefore, determined to take up an encampment at Golden's Point, within five or six miles of Nauvoo, and there await the effect of further conferences in removing the scruples of the new citizens; or, 'till the terror of their being assembled in force, should frighten away the remaining Mormons, who had now recommenced leaving the city, with great hurry and expedition.

They accordingly proceeded to Golden's Point, on Friday evening. During Saturday, interviews were had with committees of the new citizens, which brought the parties into friendly acquaintance, and mutual esteem for each other—but did not effect a definite conclusion; and the subjects under consideration were postponed to the next morning, for decision.

But, in the mean time, the aspect of affairs became entirely changed. Several hundred Mormons had secretly returned from Iowa, many of them, with Stephen Markham from the camp of the Twelve—completely armed, and prepared, and determined upon fighting. Backenstos had summoned them and all the Mormons in Nauvoo to turn out, as a posse, to attack and disperse the encampment, and many of the new citizens, some of them deceived as to the designs of the old citizens, but most of them being Mormons, and Jack-Mormons in disguise, had enrolled themselves under his standard. Altogether, he had mustered a force of eight hundred or a thousand men; and a better armed, or more desperate, blood-thirsty band, never met on the face of the earth.

The attack was to be made on Sunday. The citizens encamped were, therefore, unexpectedly reduced to the alternative—either of engaging in a desperate conflict, or leaving the ground; which course, a rational regard to consequences required them to adopt, there could be no doubt. Their number was but about one-third or one-half that of the Mormons; and they were imperfectly armed, and almost destitute of ammunition. As they had left their homes without the expectation of battle or bloodshed, they were totally unprepared for such a struggle. The consequences of a defeat, moreover, would not end with their own lives. There was little doubt that it would be followed by indiscriminate plundering and destruction; and there was too much reason to fear that in the phrenzies and tumults, the new citizens in Nauvoo, who are friendly to us, might fall a sacrifice.

The encampment, therefore, immediately retreated to Carthage, and there disbanded FOR THE PRESENT, *pledging themselves to return promptly*, at the call of their officers, *but with a clear understanding of the job before THEM*—and better preparations for its accomplishment. This whole business was unadvised and indiscreet, on the part of the Anti-Mormons. All now acknowledged it to have been so; and, had a consultation been held upon the subject, either among the officers or citizens of the county, before it was gone into, it would not have been undertaken; but it was merely *indiscreet, not criminal, nor cruel in its object*. There was no design to injure the persons or property of anybody in Nauvoo. The sole purpose was, by a hostile demonstration, to *hasten off* the remaining Mormons, who had begun to manifest indifference on the subject of removing, and many of them an intention of remaining.

But unwise as it was, and unlooked for, and unpleasant as has been the result, it has had some good effects. It has brought the old and new citizens partially to an acquaintance, and understanding of each other; and it has manifested the fact, that the new citizens of Nauvoo, instead of composing the majority and controlling power there, are comparatively but a handful, and completely in the power of the Mormons. It has, also, made the people acquainted with the fact, in contradiction to the many representations which have been made upon the subject, that Nauvoo still contains many thousand Mormons, nearly, or quite one-half the houses being yet occupied by them; and if these wretches are to be compelled to leave Hancock, it must be through the assistance of the surrounding counties."

"ORION."

Now let us call the attention of the reader to the dates in the history of this "Golden's Point" expedition. In the Quincy Whig of Tuesday, April 21st, 3rd page, we have the announcement of the contemplated disbanding of the troops, and, also, authentic information therein, from a leading Anti-Mormon of Carthage, that they were then anxious for a row. In the same paper, and same page, orders were issued, by an Anti-Mormon meeting, in Quincy—the resolutions of which we have given before—and transmitted to the people of Hancock county. On the 6th of June the people of Hancock county did, in obedience to said orders, have a public meeting, purporting to take measures for the celebration of the 4th of July, but really to obey orders and devise ways and means to drive the Mormons from the State. Therefore, they—the good people of Hancock—"as they were not free"—did go into "consideration of Mormon affairs," upon which they adjourned over to the 12th, at which time they met, armed and equipped—as the *law directs*—and marched to "Golden's Point," all of which bring us down, in our history, to the Golden's Point retreat.

Here it may not be amiss to inform the reader that the apparent delay, from the time the resolutions issued at Quincy, viz: 23d of April and the 4th of June, a little over one month before the *old citizens* take measures for the purpose of executing said orders, was owing to the unexpected return of Maj. Warren back into said county—after the time his letter to the Eagle advertised he had orders to disband on the first of May—and remained one month longer; in which time, we can see clearly, from Maj. Warren's proclamation, that they had actually commenced the "*row*," but owing to his presence it was postponed until after his absence; and the reader can, by noticing the

dates, perceive that the Golden's Point expedition must have been caused by the Quincy resolutions, without a doubt.

Some of the facts brought to view in the above letter, from Carthage, shows clearly the little pretext the old citizens had for a resort to violent measures. But for the interference of the new citizens, the whole remaining Mormon population were to be thrown across the Mississippi River, indiscriminately, without regard to age or sex, in the space of two or three days. And because the new citizens would not stand by, look on, and permit such inhuman barbarity committed on a people, already using all the means that "God and nature had given them," in order to leave, therefore, eternal wrath and vengeance, without mixture, became their doom, at the hands of the *old citizens* of Hancock—all of which will give the reader an understanding why they, too, are now banished from their homes, while the old citizens are permitted to revel and plunder their homes with impunity.

The Golden's Point expedition turning out a failure, the mob having retreated back to Carthage and disbanded, but not until they had pledged themselves—as our correspondent has informed us—to return, "*but with a clearer understanding of the job before them, and better prepared for its accomplishment.*" The next we see of them is again in the Quincy Whig, July 22nd. Mr. Bartlett, after referring to the Hancock Eagle, extra, uses the following language:

"To come down to the plain matter of fact, the reliable portion of this famous extra may be given in a few words, viz: that a few, styling themselves *regulators*, had severely lynched several Mormons, who had been caught out of the limits of Nauvoo, and in consequence, the new citizens had got out writs for the offenders, and among those arrested by Capt. Clifford and his sixty men, were James W. Brattle, of Carthage, and Major M'Calla, of that county, who were taken to Nauvoo for examination."

Lower down, in the same column of his paper, we find the following, headed "POSTSCRIPT:"

"Since the above was in type, we have been furnished with the accompanying statement and affidavit, by which it will be seen that the lynching the Mormons was just what the Mormons deserved. They were intruding upon the rights of oth-

ers, and were guilty of provocation sufficient to entitle them to all they got, and much more."

At this place we may date the renewal again of mob violence. From the tenor of the extracts, for some time past, the reader will remember that the Mormons had abandoned the country and taken refuge in Nauvoo. But here are men—said to be Mormons, by Mr. Bartlett—who had ventured out some miles into the country, and, according to his own statement, if the Anti-Mormons were able to lynch them—which he admits they did, and thinks they ought to have had much more—they were equally able to have punished them by legal process.

"But," said Mr. Bartlett, "they got just what they deserve"—*clearly advocating lynch law*, when there was no necessity for it, allowing him to be judge. The new citizens, not being accustomed to such flagrant and manifest violations of law and order, becoming indignant, no doubt, and very properly so, at such inhuman conduct—(reflecting that if such outrages as these, with others that have been already noticed, were suffered to go unrebuked,) especially if their statement of the matter be true, viz: that a portion of the individuals lynched, were not Mormons, but new citizens, in attempting to enforce the laws, and bring the perpetrators to punishment, in this *unfortunate* act, called down on their own heads the "retributive vengeance" of the *suffering old citizens*, which ended in their expulsion from the country.

About this time, it seems, that the military committee, at head-quarters, voluntarily resigned the duties and functions of their offices, "into the hands," they say, "of the people."—Whether their mob army of occupation, in and about Nauvoo, and the officers under command in the field, were too tardy in their movements, or whether their late defeat at Golden's Point so discouraged them that they lost confidence in their soldiers, and could see no way for a future victory, or whether the late dispatches from the *field of battle*, bearing the *glorious news* of a battle FOUGHT and VICTORY won, to wit: EIGHT MEN LYNCHED, was *glory enough*, or whether the final onset was to be made, hit or miss, and they became fearful that the responsibilities were likely to become a little too great for them openly to continue in the command, and thought it most prudent to

make a public and formal resignation of the trust confided unto them, and let their mantle fall upon one who was willing to make himself a subservient tool to their covert acts, in order to give to said acts the color of law, is not for us to say. At any rate, in the Quincy Whig of Wednesday, July 22d, we find the following:

"At a meeting of the committee—appointed by the Carthage Convention, on the 2d day of October, 1845, as a Military Committee—held on the 15th day of July, A. D., 1846, on motion, it was

"*Resolved*, That the period for which the said committee was appointed, by the said convention, having elapsed, the said committee regard their functions as at an end.

"*Resolved*, That the said committee hereby resign the trust committed to them, by the said convention, into the hands of the people.

"A. JONAS,

A. JOHNSTON,

"J. H. HOLTON,

J. B. SCHWINDLER."

We will just say, in this place, as we will have to look out, henceforth, for new commanders of our mob army, in bidding a final adieu to the military committee at Quincy, that we will not forget to commend them to the favorable consideration of Col. James K. Polk; hoping, that if there should be any vacancies to fill in the army, that from the very *distinguished services and achievements* they have rendered the OLD CITIZENS of Hancock, he ought not to overlook their very distinguished claims to *military promotion*, especially if there should be, anywhere in all his dominions, a few hundred of women and children to be subdued into a wholesome and quiet obedience, to that part of the constitution and laws of the United States, that expressly regulates, governs, and prescribes the modes and forms by which the commanding officers are required "to do all things lawful, necessary and proper," to have them lawfully banished forever from the limits of this land of liberty.

We find the following in the Quincy Whig of August 12th, which reads as follows:

"At a very large meeting of the Anti-Mormons of M'Donough, held at the court-house, on the 25th ult., a committee of six was appointed, to draft an address to the nine counties, in relation to the removal of the Mormons. Resolutions were also passed, inviting these nine counties, (Hancock excluded,)

to assemble at an early day as practicable, for the purpose of removing the Mormons from Hancock, according to former agreement—pledging themselves to destroy no *property*, and to use all means in their power to prevent a *destruction of property* by others.”

We call the attention of our reader to the above article, in order to prepare them for an understanding of the new position assumed by our mob army. Henceforth, their pretended claims to a constitutional *posse committatus*, under which colors we shall find, before we progress much further with this history, they endeavored to sail; and which we shall be able to show, by their own acts, was only a mere pretext of civil authority, for no other purpose than to deceive their neighbors, and decoy them into its active support.

We find the following in the Quincy Whig of the 19th of August:

“We believe the Hancock troubles are nearly at an end again. We received a letter last week from that quarter, which stated that John Carlin, the officer acting as Sheriff, had visited Nauvoo, for the purpose of arresting Clifford, Furness, and Pickett, on a charge of robbery and false imprisonment. The two former surrendered, and the latter refused to give himself up; but, subsequently, the Nauvoo people called for an armistice, that the difficulties might be settled. This was granted on the part of the Anties, and committees were to meet for consultation, on the 17th. The result of this consultation and interview, we have not learned. Pickett was very outrageous in his language towards the officer, threatened his life, &c. But Carlin is not one that is easily intimidated, and if need be, he will call on a posse to effect the arrest of the offender.” (Here, again, Mr. Bartlett leaks out before hand, their secret machinations.) “And, if needs be, he, (Mr. Carlin,) will call a posse.” (How did he, Mr. Bartlett, know before hand, that this was the final grand plan of attack?) “We received,” said he, “last week, a letter from that quarter, which stated,” &c.

He was kept informed of their modes of procedure, but seemed to be fearful that the troubles were likely to come to an end, and the armistice result in the delivery of the offender; in which event, the grand posse scheme would be a failure. But, in his next week's paper, August 26th, he seems to have found matter, about which to talk and write.

“From all appearances the difficulties in Hancock are rapidly approaching a crisis. The citizens of Nauvoo have held a pub-

lic meeting, and *resolved*, that it is inexpedient and unlawful to encourage or permit a posse to visit that city, or, in other words, that offenders against the laws, who take refuge in Nauvoo; shall not be taken out of the city—and organized a force to repel any attempt to take them out. On the other hand, the citizens of the county have determined to aid the officer, Mr. Carlin, to execute certain writs he has in his possession, against Pickett, and others in Nauvoo; and they will make a general thing of it. Mr. Carlin has issued his proclamation, calling out a posse to execute the writs, and the call will be responded to, it is believed, not only by citizens of Hancock, but of the *surrounding counties*. The posse was to have rendezvoused at Carthage, on Monday last, and the officer was to have entered the city, either on yesterday or to-day. A force of 1,500 to 2,000 men was expected to assemble, which would have been amply sufficient to overawe any factious opposition to the law, from the Mormons, or any *other body of men* that can be raised in Nauvoo.

"All sorts of rumors are spreading abroad from the Holy City, intended more as scare-crows than anything else—that the Mormons have prepared arms and ammunition, in great abundance, to repel the force that was preparing to march into the city, to make arrests.

"In this instance, the Anti-Mormons of Hancock have the law on their side. They have been stigmatised as a mob, regulators, &c., &c., and sympathies of a large class were enlisted against them, on the side of Nauvoo, under a mistaken view of the difficulties. Now, the case is different. *An officer has been resisted—an offender against the law is at large*, in Nauvoo, threatening and boasting that he will not be taken, and that a force sufficient cannot be got together to take him. The law, therefore, through its legally appointed officer, calls upon the people to aid in the execution of the writs placed in his hands, and to make a signal example of such offenders as trample upon the laws, and defy the power of the State."

Now let us call the attention of the reader to the glaring inconsistencies of this *mob-editor*: "make a signal example of such offenders as trample upon the laws." What had become of his *lynchers* about this time, who he thought did not give the men they lynched as much as they deserved? What would become of his *unlawful military organization*? What would become of his *CIVIL WAR*? This is the man to call on the strong arm of power, to make a signal example of such as trample upon the law. Certainly, a great change must have come over the

spirit of the worthy editor's dream, he has *suddenly* become devotedly attached to the *law*.

Mr. Bartlett and his co-adjutors ought, also, be made to feel the "strong arm," for their treasonable conduct, in marshalling in defiance of the civil power—an ARMY OF MEN—A CIVIL INSURRECTION—A REVOLUTION—setting at open defiance the laws of our country, by a bold and open thrust at the Constitution of the United States, and of this State. We know not whether the civil power will ever call these men to a just and merited account, or not—that remains to be seen. But one thing we feel assured of, that if these men had have lived in the days of Aaron Burr, and under the administration of Thomas Jefferson, they would be summoned to an account, and that speedily.

In order that the reader may have a perfect understanding of the issue, as it was called, and set forth to the public in a proclamation, about this time, by certain gentlemen, who ought to have been above the suspicion of practicing a fraud, or a falsehood, we will insert it as it was given to the public, with their signatures appended thereunto, from the Warsaw Signal, Extra:

TO THE PUBLIC.

In order to prevent an erroneous impression from going abroad, in relation to the present position of affairs in Hancock, the undersigned feel it to be incumbent upon them to state to the public the circumstances as they exist, and which have led to the present state of things in this county.

The public is generally aware that about three weeks since, Mr. Carlin, who was a duly authorized officer, went to Nauvoo for the purpose of serving certain writs in his hands against certain persons residing in that city. On arriving, he arrested three persons—Wm. E. Clifford, James E. Furness, and William Pickett. The two first of these, after some parley consented to accompany the officer before the magistrate who issued the writ; but the last utterly refused, and threatened the life of the officer if he attempted to take him. In this resistance, he appeared to be so encouraged and backed by the mob of the city, and such was the violence of their conduct, that Mr. Carlin, for fear of injury to himself, was compelled to leave without his prisoner—Pickett tauntingly telling him that if he wished to take him, to bring force enough to do it.

Being thus resisted, the only alternatives left, were, either to suffer Nauvoo insolently to defy the laws of the State,—or for the officer to call, as the Statutes require, on the power of the county to assist him in the service of the process in his hands, and if the *posse* was not sufficient, then to call on the military. To choose the former alternative, and passively submit to an insolent resistance of legal authority, would be to sap the foundation of all law; and therefore, no officer knowing his duty, could think of it. Mr. Carlin, therefore, determined, at once, to call out the *posse comitatus*, and if found insufficient, to certify the same to the proper military officer, and demand from him assistance.

Accordingly on the 17th inst., Mr. Carlin issued his proclamation for the people of the county to meet him in Carthage on Monday the 24th, armed and equipped, and provided with necessary provisions.

In the mean time, a portion of the citizens of Nauvoo, mostly Mormons, assembled in meeting, and passed resolutions to the effect that they would not give up those of their number accused of crime, and made immediate preparations, by organizing companies for resistance to the legal authorities.

On Monday last, the 24th, the *posse* commenced assembling according to previous orders; but as a work of some magnitude was before them, it was determined not to march into Nauvoo until every necessary preparation could be completed; and hence some considerable delay has been occasioned.

On Wednesday the 25th inst., a proclamation appeared from Nauvoo, signed by James R. Parker, Major in the 32d Regiment, Illinois Militia, who claims to have authority from the Governor to preserve the peace in Hancock county. In this he assumes that the peace of the county is threatened, and orders the people assembled under Mr. Carlin to disperse. To this Mr. Carlin replied by letter, stating that he was a legal officer, acting in obedience to the requirements of the law, and he did not acknowledge the authority of any one to interfere with him in the discharge of his duty. On the 26th Major Parker replied to Mr. Carlin's letter, reiterating the substance of his proclamation, and stated that if the *posse* did not disperse he would regard them as a mob, and treat them as such. Mr. Carlin in reply, stated to Major Parker, that he, having been resisted in the service of process, it was his duty to call out the civil *posse*, and that with that *posse* no one had a right to interfere; and if Major P. attempted to molest them, he should regard him and his command as a mob, and treat them as such; that it was time enough for him—a military officer—to step in when his services were demanded, and not sooner.

The undersigned would now state that they regard the interference of Major Parker as altogether illegal and unwarrantable. The law expressly provides that the *military* shall not interfere with a *civil* officer in the discharge of his duty. If it were otherwise, our government would, in effect, be a military despotism. Major Parker claims to be a military officer; he does not pretend to any other than military authority. Such being the case, it is a gross assumption of power, on his part, to attempt to interfere with a *civil posse*, and to dictate to civil officers, that they shall first call on him, if they want aid in the service of process, when the law expressly says they shall first call on the civil posse, and if that is not sufficient, then on the military. From this it will be seen that the military is a conservative power, on which the civil officer may fall back in case of necessity; but it has no right to dictate, or to volunteer its services to the civil authorities before being called upon so to do.

A second proclamation was issued by Maj. Parker, immediately after the receipt of Mr. Carlin's last letter, in which he reiterates the substance of the first, and states further, what is utterly false, that his men, who were sent to Carthage, were barbarously treated by a mob. In this he states that the design of the posse is to set the Mormons and certain new citizens over the river. As we are better acquainted with the state of feeling in Mr. Carlin's posse than it is possible for a man to be who will not venture out of Nauvoo to learn the true position of things, but who appears to rely entirely for his information on flying reports, and the expressions of irresponsible and interested individuals, we will state for the satisfaction of the public, that the posse assembled here is the most orderly and obedient to the orders of superiors, of any body of men of the same magnitude, ever assembled in this county; that they do not appear like nor act as a mob, but pledge themselves to confine their operations to that which is strictly legal—that they are commanded by men who will suffer no unnecessary outrage on either person or property—that they are determined that the law shall be executed in Nauvoo, and that the inhabitants of that place shall be taught that their city is not impregnable, and cannot be a harbor longer for thieves, counterfeiters and cut-throats, as heretofore.

The undersigned would further state, that it has come to their knowledge, that a large majority of the new citizens of Nauvoo have resolved to stand neutral in the present contest; but this the Mormon mob in the city say they shall not do, but threaten that if they do not take up arms and

fight the posse committatus, they shall be forced into the front ranks. On Thursday last a mob assembled at the store of Mr. Hartwell, one of these new citizens, and there, under the very nose of Major Parker himself, committed the most aggravating outrages! On Friday, Doctor Irwin, another new citizen, was brutally assaulted in the streets of Nauvoo, for no other reason than that he wished to stand aloof and take no part in the proceedings of a Mormon mob. These new citizens have appealed to Major Parker for protection; but he told them it was not in his power to protect them from the mob of Mormons, and therefore many of them have been compelled to seek safety and refuge out of the city.

Now, fellow-citizens, an issue is fairly formed. On the one hand, a large body of men have assembled at Carthage, under the command of a legal officer, to assist him in performing legal duties. They are not excited—they are cool, but determined, at all hazards, to execute the law in Nauvoo, which has always, heretofore, defied it. They are resolved to go to work systematically and with ample preparation, but under a full knowledge that on their good and orderly behavior their character is staked. On the other hand, in Nauvoo is a blustering Mormon mob, who have defied the law, and who are now organized for the purpose of arresting the arm of civil power. Judge ye which is in the right.

Your fellow-citizens,

ARCHIBALD WILLIAMS,	} Of Adams County.
JOHN B. CHITTENDEN,	
THOMAS MORRISON,	
JOHN D. MELLEN,	} Of Hancock County.
WESLEY WILLIAMS,	
JASON H. SHERMAN,	
JOHN H. MITCHELL,	Of Warren County.
THOS. S. BROCKMAN,	} Of Brown County.
JAMES W. SINGLETON,	

Carthage, August 29th, 1846.

To the above issue we now call the close attention of the reader, and invite him, before proceeding, to cast his eye over this learned and labored document a second time, and again look at the signatures, for we have no doubt you are ready to conclude, after looking over the above document, and the men that put it forth, be it true or false, that they, at least, would not be guilty of signing another, that would be a positive contradiction to the one we have under investigation. Before we proceed, however, to the examination of this document, as the name of Major Parker is introduced into it in a very uncere- monious manner, and in a style that would lead the reader, who is not acquainted with the circumstances, under which this gentleman came to Nauvoo, to imagine that he was some common blackguard, rather than a military officer, ordered to that point by the highest authority known to the State of Illinois. Did we say the highest authority known to the State? We will take that back. We should have said, known to all loyal

good citizens of the State of Illinois, these Hancock mobocrats, and their allies, excepted. We here remark, in order to give the reader an understanding of the unfairness, to say nothing worse of it, with which this dastardly mob was managed, that, hitherto, all the quotations, it will be observed, have been made from the Quincy Whig. The last document, you observe, is from an "extra," printed at the Warsaw Signal office, which was, so soon as received by Mr. Bartlett, posted up at his door, without consuming time to reprint, in order to give it to the public without delay. But let us ask, was there an extra issued to inform the public that such a document was in existence, as the one we are now about to give? Was it ever even printed in the weekly number of the Quincy Whig? We answer it was not. Does there not appear to have been a design, in all this, to keep out of sight of the people, by garbled extracts and designing innuendoes, the fact that Major Parker was there, by order of the Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the State of Illinois, while these men were doing their utmost, by disseminating such documents as the above, to fan the flame of discord and insubordination, and rush the people on, in their madness, to the commission of the highest crime known to the laws of God and man, viz: murder, and that of waring against their own government. But to Major Parker's orders. "Quincy Herald, September 4th, 1846."

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, *Springfield August 24, 1846.*

To Major JAMES R. PARRER, of the 32d Regiment of the Illinois Militia.

Sir—I have received information that another effort is to be made on Monday next, to drive the inhabitants of Nauvoo, new as well as old, and destroy the city. I am informed that it is believed in the surrounding counties that the new citizens in Nauvoo are all Mormons and that the remnant of the old Mormon population are determined to remain there, although I am assured that the contrary in both particulars is the truth.

You are, therefore, hereby authorized and empowered to repair to Nauvoo and there remain until you are relieved. You will immediately enquire how many of the inhabitants are new citizens and how many of them are Mormons. How many of the old Mormon population remain, and what the prospect is of their removal in a reasonable time, and in case an attack on the city should be attempted or threatened, you are hereby authorized to take command of such volunteers as may offer themselves *free of cost to the State*, to repel it and to defend the city. You will also have full power to pursue and in aid of a peace-officer with a proper warrant, arrest the rioters who may threaten or attempt such an attack and bring them to trial.

You will have power with an armed posse to assist any peace-officer in making arrests and with a like force will guard the prisoners to and during their trial and as long as you may believe them to be in danger of mob violence.

You will, also, from time to time, publish in the Nauvoo and Quincy papers the results of your investigations, and a brief history of your proceedings.

You are, also, authorized to accept of the services of ten men as volunteers from Fulton county, to serve under you in performing the above services, who will be paid for their service.

I am respectfully your obedient servant,

THOMAS FORD, Gov. and Com.-in-Chief."

PROCLAMATION.

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
HANCOCK CNTY. }

Whereas, I, JAMES R. PARKER, Major of the 22d Regiment of the Militia of the State of Illinois, have been ordered with a portion of said regiment to rendezvous in the said county of Hancock, to preserve the peace and for other purposes:

Whereas, also, I am credibly informed that large bodies of armed men are assembling themselves together in various parts of said county, with the avowed intention of disturbing the peace of said county:—

I, THEREFORE, in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, and by virtue of the power in me vested by the Governor of said State, hereby call upon and order all good citizens in said county to return to their homes, and keep the peace of said county, and not again assemble themselves together, unless called upon so to do by me, to enable me to preserve the peace of said county, or to assist the proper officer in serving writs in his hands.

Given under my hand at Nauvoo, Hancock county, Illinois, Aug. 25, 1846.

JAMES R. PARKER, Major."

In the above document can be seen who this man was, that these would-be regulators of nations chose to speak of so meanly. We will just say, in this place, as we have chosen heretofore to speak of Governor Ford's conduct, in strong terms of condemnation, that there is much in this to relieve him from censure.* In any other country, these orders to Major Parker from the Governor, would have been respected and obeyed. We have no hesitancy to say, that they would have been considered, by good citizens, as an act of kindness in the Executive. He proposed to relieve them of the seeming necessity of civil war, by sending a disinterested officer to aid them to serve any legal processes that they might not, (owing to the peculiar circumstances in that county,) be able to accomplish, without danger of civil insurrection. But, no; these insurgents—these revolutionizers to our country and her laws, chose rather to suppress and misconstrue the orders of the Executive, and rush the people on, in their madness, to the utmost extreme in their power.

* We do not design here to be understood as relieving the Governor of any part of that deep censure his subsequent conduct to this, merits, for his unparalleled neglect of duty, as Commander-in-Chief, by permitting Majors Parker and Clifford to remain there, unrelieved, to be driven from the field in disgrace, or massacred by the mob.

Whether the people of Nauvoo did, as these men state, "pass resolutions, to the effect, that they would not give up those of their number accused of crime, and made immediate preparations, by organizing companies, for resistance to the legal authorities," we know not; we have never seen them. We should have thought they would have been seized upon by these mobocrats, and published by their organ, in large letters, as so much capital. At any rate, it would have been quite as easy for these men to have given the resolutions "verbatim et literatum." If they have fallen as far short in this particular, as you readily perceive they did, in giving the public a correct understanding of Major Parker's true position, we should be inclined to the opinion that they have given a perversion of them. The legal part of this learned and labored document—as we are no lawyer—we will leave for some tyro in that profession to notice.

These gentlemen seemed to complain of Major Parker for attempting to understand their true design, viz: to set Mormons and new citizens over the river. And mark the studied and evasive manner in which they attempt to refute this charge:

"As we are," said they, "better acquainted with the state of feeling in Mr. Carlin's posse, than it is possible for a man to be who will not venture out of Nauvoo to learn the true position of things, but who appears to rely entirely on flying reports, and the expressions of irresponsible and interested individuals, we will state, for the satisfaction of the public, that the possee assembled here is the most orderly and obedient to orders of superiors, of any body of men of the same magnitude, ever assembled in this county; that they *do not appear like nor act like a mob*; but pledge themselves to confine their operations to that which is strictly **LEGAL**—that they are commanded by men who will suffer no unnecessary *outrage* on either *person or property*—that they are determined that the law shall be executed in Nauvoo, and that the inhabitants of that place shall be taught that their city is not impregnable, and cannot be a harbor longer for thieves, counterfeiters and cut-throats."

Now, have these men, in all the above article, told us whether it was, or was not, their purpose to set Mormons and new citizens over the river? With all their audacity they could not key themselves up to say right out that which they knew would have been a falsehood, to wit: that it was not their object so to

do, but made a labored effort to leave that impression on the public mind.

But the issue these gentlemen have made out and signed, is the question to which we more especially invite attention. Is it true, or is it false? Let the reader bear in mind the issue that these men have set forth, viz: the serving of a *writ*, not *writs*; Pickett is the only man whom they pretend resisted their proper officer. If they had an hundred writs, until they were resisted in their service, we presume, the learned member of the bar, himself, will not claim that they were entitled to a posse. We propose to show that the serving this writ was no part of the object of this pretended posse. The first evidence to which we will call attention, we take from the Quincy Whig of September 2d:

HANCOCK AFFAIRS.

"The Hancock difficulties are still the subject of conversation and remark with all parties. At the last accounts, the posse under Mr. Carlin, numbered eight or ten hundred strong, and would march on Nauvoo so soon as a sufficient force was collected. At the solicitation of some of the excited citizens at Nauvoo, the Governor has despatched a man by the name of Parker, with ten men, to quiet the difficulties in Hancock. This Parker has issued his proclamation requesting the posse under Carlin to disperse and return to their homes. He has, also, written to Carlin that he will execute all the writs in his possession, and if he and his posse do not disperse he shall treat them as a mob. Carlin, acting under legal advice, has returned for answer, that he can do his duty as an officer without any assistance from Mr. or General Parker, and if he and his *ten men* interfere with him in the performance of his duties he shall treat him as a mob.—We have received the following letters from Carthage, containing matters of interest. Our correspondent in one of these letters, inquires with some reason, what sort of a peace officer this Parker is, who would stand by with his posse and see respectable citizens in Nauvoo insulted and mobbed for refusing to join Pickett and others in resisting the execution of the writs in Carlin's hands, and not lift a finger to interfere? If the Governor's agent and his ten assistants came over to assist the Nauvooites in resisting the law, well and good; but if he came over to quell the disturbances and to aid in preserving the peace, he has a very singular way of showing it."

"CARTHAGE, ILLINOIS, August 27, 1846.

"Mr. Bartlett: Dear Sir,—I arrived in this place at eleven o'clock, this forenoon, and found about 550 men under arms, and reinforcements arriving every hour. They all express a determination to stick together until they accomplish the object for which they assembled, 'if it takes until next spring.' There is a feeling of determination among them, that never existed before. It is a general saying, 'that if the resolutions of the Carthage Convention cannot now be carried out, they will leave the country, or turn Jack Mormons,'—no danger of this latter saying being carried into execution.

Notwithstanding all the anti-Mormons have suffered, they still dislike to shed blood if it can possibly be avoided; that is, if the Mormons will give up Pickett and others, to be dealt with according to law, and remove themselves peaceably from the State, every assurance of protection will be given them if they agree to do this.

There is an impression abroad that the present movement will be a

'second Golden's Point expedition,' and indeed that was my opinion until yesterday evening, when such assurances were given me to the contrary as to leave little chance for doubt. Since I have come out to Carthage all doubts have ceased.

All those who wish to see this county as it was in 1837—who wish to see the sword turned into a plow-share—now is the time to accomplish such desirable ends without the shedding of blood. Numbers are all-powerful in a case like this. Even those friendly to the Mormons would do them a real favor by joining the Anti-Mormon ranks, for it is now certain that the anties will not give up without a tremendous struggle."

"CARTHAGE, August 23, 1846.

"Messrs. Bartlett and Sullivan: Gentlemen:

"A man calling himself Col. Parker, and pretending to act under the authority of Gov. Ford, has issued two proclamations, and commanded Carlin to disperse his posse under penalty of having it considered and treated as a mob, and with as much importance as impudence, threatens to disperse it himself if his command is not immediately obeyed. He has succeeded in making himself ridiculous. I have not spare time, if I had the inclination, in the short limits of a letter, to characterise this arrogant presumption. We have truly come to a pretty pass, if any *upstart* may go into a county and dictate to an officer of the law what process to execute, and in what manner, and denounce him as a mob for attempting to execute criminal process in the manner required by law."

In the above correspondence from the town of Carthage, to the editor of the Whig, almost in his first sentence, is developed the object of this pretended posse: said he, "That if the resolutions of the Carthage Convention cannot now be carried out, they will leave the county, or turn Jack-Mormons." Now let us ask this distinguished member of the bar, whose name stands at the head of the list of signatures of this issue, what the Carthage resolutions had to do with the writ against Mr. Rickett, or a posse to enforce them. "They all, (said this correspondent,) express a determination to stick together, until they accomplish the object for which they assembled, if it takes until next spring. There is a feeling of determination among them, that never existed before; it is a general saying, that if the resolutions of the Carthage Convention cannot now be carried out," &c. If this is not blowing hot and cold in the same breath, then we do not understand. One man on the 27th and 28th, making the Carthage resolutions the issue—another set of them, on the 29th, proclaiming entirely a different issue. We wonder which Mr. Bartlett believed. We should have thought, that a man of his well known mob-tact, would have, at least, suppressed one or the other of these documents.

"Colonels Singleton, of Brown and Chittenden, of Adams counties, (said this correspondent,) are in command." The

authors of this issue would have the world believe that John Carlin, an especial constable, but recently of Adams county himself, appointed for said purpose, had power to call out Colonels, Majors, and a General, and soldiers in proportion, from Adams, Hancock, Warren, Brown, M'Donough, Marquette, Schuyler, Pike, and Knox counties, to make a "*posse comitatus*," to serve a writ in said Hancock county. But he, the Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in the State of Illinois, by virtue of his office, had no right nor power to send an officer, (though a military one he be,) to command and keep the peace of said county, when the whole county, and many more, were actually engaged in a CIVIL WAR. And has Mr. Williams been willing to stake his reputation, as a lawyer, upon the correctness of the law, as stated in the document before us. As we said before, we are no lawyer, but if we were to give an opinion as to what was the Governor's duty in the premises, we would have said, he was bound to interpose his authority, and keep the peace, or he was a purged man. Not necessary that the Governor should be called on, as he was in this case; but if he had information from a source entitled to respect, to lead him to believe there was danger of an outbreak of the kind, it was his duty to be on the ground, or have some one in his stead, with sufficient force to keep the peace, and thereby save the honor and hitherto good name of our State from the damning disgrace of CIVIL WAR. This is our opinion, and we are willing to put it by the side of Mr. Williams', and the world may judge which is the correct one. We now call the attention of the reader to a document we find in the Quincy Whig of September 16th, purporting to be a statement of facts, given by Mr. Singleton, in defence of his own conduct in the Hancock troubles. Singleton's letter to Major Parker:

"HEAD QUARTERS, Camp-Prairie, Sept. 7th, 1846."

SIR:—I have received by the hands of Messrs. Smith & Reynolds, yours of the 6th inst.:—like yourself, I am sincerely anxious of settling the unhappy difficulties in Hancock without the shedding of blood or destruction of property; either, I fear will be the result of an extremity, to which I am about to be forced. I cannot, in your letter, seize upon any proposition, that would accomplish the removal of the Mormons; that is, a '*sine qua non*' with us—nothing else will give peace to the country. At the earnest solicitations of the bearers of your letter, I am induced to submit the following as the best terms:

1st. The Mormons shall surrender their arms into the possession of some responsible person in Quincy, or St. Louis, to be re-delivered upon their leaving the State."

2d. They shall leave the State, or disperse in sixty days.

The two foregoing propositions will not be receded from, or enlarged.

3d. That a force, sufficient, be stationed in Nauvoo, by the Governor, for the protection of all parties—that one-half the expense of said force be paid by the citizens of, and the other half by citizens out of Nauvoo.

4th. In case of accepting the foregoing, I would recommend to the Governor the collection of the State arms in the county.

When I say to you the Mormons must go, I speak the minds of the camp and the country. They can leave without force or injury to themselves or their property; but I say to you, sir, with all candor, *they shall go*—they may fix the time within sixty day, or I shall fix it for them.

JAS. W. SINGLETON.

In this letter of Singleton's to Parker, there can be no mistaking what he considered the issue, although he had signed, but a few days before, one entirely different; but now he comes forward—if he understood the strength of his own terms—and put the issue, beyond dispute, in this strong language. "The removal of the Mormons," said he, "is a *sine qua non* with us." The Mormons must go; and in the whole letter does not mention Pickett's name, but closes up his pompous epistle to Major Parker in the following language: "When I say to you the Mormons must go, I speak the minds of the camp and the country. They can leave without force or injury to themselves or their *property*—but I say to you, sir," (this was addressed to Major Parker, consequently through him to the Governor,) "with all sincerity, *they shall go*. They may fix the time, within sixty days, or *I shall fix it for them*." What had become of Mr. Singleton's "issue, fairly formed," when he was drawing up this document, the language of which is tolerable no where but in the hands of a tyrant. But did you fix it for them, Mr. Singleton? Which document must we believe? certainly not both? But we are not done yet.

In the same number of the Whig we find the treaty concluded in the following language, to wit:

"For the purpose of producing a permanent settlement of the difficulties now existing in Hancock county, of securing a permanent peace, and ensuring the proper execution of the laws, it is hereby stipulated and agreed:

1st. That the Mormon population of the city of Nauvoo, shall commence moving immediately, and the whole shall, within sixty days, move from the State or disperse, except the men who with their families may remain for the transaction of business.

2d. That a force of twenty-five men for the protection of all parties and the preservation of the peace, be stationed in Nauvoo, by the authority of the Executive, to remain for the said period of sixty days; and that one half of the expenses of said force be borne by the citizens of Nauvoo.

3d. That an attorney be selected by the Governor to be stationed in

Nauvoo to take the supervision of all writs issued or to be issued, who shall have discretion and control of said place.

4th. That the Mormon population of Nauvoo shall, by their trustees, deliver up their arms to Mr. Brayman, of Springfield, Ill., to be by him receipted for and safely kept, to be returned on the order of said trustees, upon their leaving the State.

5th. That so soon as Mr. Brayman, shall certify to Gen. Singleton, that the provisions of stipulation 4th are complied with, by the delivery of the arms of the Mormons, the force under the command of Gen. Singleton, shall be disbanded and return home.

6th. A bond shall be made by the citizens of Nauvoo, for the payment of their half of the sum necessary, to pay the expenses of the force to be raised, and a similar bond by the citizens out of Nauvoo, to be paid at such times and in such sums as may be drawn for by the said Mr. Brayman.

7th. It is understood that, on the beginning of the stipulations, all hostilities, of any kind, are to cease between the respective parties; all bodies of armed men are to be dispensed with; no armed posses are to be raised, but the force herein provided to be raised, shall be called upon to aid the civil officers and preserve the peace, when necessary; it being the intention of the undersigned, in good faith to secure and maintain tranquillity in the county of Hancock.

Agreed to on behalf of the Anti-Mormons, by
JAS. W. SINGLETON, of Brown Co.,
J. B. CHITTENDEN, of Adams,
N. MONTGOMERY, of McDonough;
JAMES KING, of Schuyler,
J. H. SHERMAN, of Hancock.

On the part of the Mormons, by
Maj. J. R. PARKER, Com'd. Ill. Vol.
at the city of Nauvoo:
MR. SMITH, of Nauvoo,
MR. REYNOLDS, of Nauvoo,
MR. EDMONS, of Nauvoo."

Now, in the above stipulations, drawn up and given to the world on the authority of Mr. Singleton, the original we have in our possession, can the reader point out which one demands the surrender of the body of William Pickett; the man for which this pretended posse was called out?"

"But now, fellow-citizens," said Mr. Williams, "the issue is fairly formed; on the one hand, a large body of men have assembled at Carthage, under the command of a legal officer to assist him in performing legal duties."

Yes, legal duties, to wit: that of setting women and children and sick people over the river; is this not profound reasoning?

"But," continues this learned member of the bar, "they are not excited; they are cool, but determined, at all hazards, to execute the law in Nauvoo."

Well, let us see; what does Mr. Singleton say on this subject in the above?

"That the Mormon population of the city of Nauvoo shall commence removing immediately, and the whole shall, within sixty days, remove from the State or disperse."

Was this the law for which Mr. Williams' civil posse comitatus was called out to execute in Nauvoo, of which he discoursed so learnedly, and of which the chief magistrate of the State had no constitutional right to interpose his authority; but

of which it was perfectly constitutional and legal that Mr. Williams, Col. Chittenden and other gentlemen, of four or five different counties, should issue proclamations—though not in their own counties—organizing and drilling soldiers, giving legal opinions, setting forth “issues fairly formed.” But oh! the Governor, the Governor! not legal for him to send his “*Pseudo Colonel*,” as they contemptuously called him. Are not these strange times, reader, upon which we have fallen, when men, claiming for themselves respectability and standing in society, will put forth, for the gaze of the public eye, such absurdities?

Before we leave this treaty, look again at the signatures appended thereunto; then look at the signatures of the document which we have under consideration, and you will discover the identical same men that proclaimed, in the first, the issue was the serving a writ, now signing a treaty on other subjects entirely, when the only subject upon which they could treat, as a posse, without convicting themselves of deliberate falsehood, was the surrender of one man, William Pickett, to a writ. Mr. Williams’ signature not appearing to the last document, does not exculpate him, in the least degree, from the same inconsistency with the rest. We have it, from an indisputable source, that this treaty was approved by him, he being present. There is one thing about this Singleton treaty—as it was called—that we consider as dark as hell itself. These men had, by a false proclamation, and in other ways, stirred up the excitement which called that mass of thoughtless people together;—they knew well they were assembled in an unlawful manner; consequently they feared to accompany them further. Hence this treaty was brought up, behind which they retreated from the field, hoping and believing, no doubt, they had prepared for themselves a safe retreat. In this they are mistaken.

In the first place, it belongs to no set of men in these United States to call together such a mass of people, under any circumstances, unless it has the sanction of law. Therefore, they who do this are responsible for the results, as much, or more than though they had continued with them. In the second place, there was treachery of the darkest cast, in the manner in which

this treaty was managed. It is an old saying, and a true one, "there is honor among thieves." Now, if these men believed that the treaty they had got up and approved, was a reasonable one, as they professed to, it was due every person in that crowd, old and young, that they should have been made acquainted with its terms—it was their duty to have taken it to the camp, and read it aloud, and every man of them have given his opinion, and publicly approved of it. In this way they could, in all probability, have disbanded the whole army. But this they did not do—and in this is developed the treachery and the darkness of these leaders—secretely preparing for themselves a place of safety. Home they went, with a treaty in their pockets, while they had left their companions ignorant of their designs, or, if to learn them at all, through an instrument who was ready to pervert the truth, and, if possible, more desperate and reckless than themselves; and having, probably, what *they* had not—courage to carry his dark designs into effect.

On the withdrawal of Singleton and Chittenden from the command of the mob, it seems their mantle fell on one Thomas S. Brockman, of Brown county.

We now call attention to a proposition for another treaty, made by Brockman and *Carlin*. It seems that the *great man Carlin* was totally overlooked in the Singleton treaty. [See Warsaw signal of October 13th, 1846, not being able to find it in the Whig:]

SEPTEMBER 8, 1846.—It is proposed on behalf of the Anti-Mormon forces assembled, camped in the vicinity of Nauvoo, by the officers in council:

1st. That the writs in the hands of John Carlin shall be served, if the individuals against whom they exist can be found.

2d. The Mormons shall all give up their arms to some gentleman in —, to be aged on by the parties, and any gun or other weapon shall be returned to the owner, whenever the officer the Anti-Mormons may station in the city, shall certify that the owner of said gun has *bona fide* left the State with his goods and chattels.

3d. The Anti-Mormon forces shall be permitted to march peaceably through the city; we pledging ourselves to molest neither person or property unless attacked, in which case we will defend ourselves as best we can.

4th. The Mormons shall leave the State in thirty days.

5th. The Anti-Mormons shall station a force at their discretion in the city, to see that the above terms are complied with.

JOHN CARLIN, THOS. S. BROCKMAN,
In behalf of the officers in camp.

The above five articles are signed by John Carlin, Mr. Williams, "legal officer." Now we ask Mr. Williams to point out to us how many of those articles, relate to matters that

would belong properly to a posse? one of them only—and we will tell the reader how that came: After Singleton published his treaty, they were told of their inconsistencies in this particular; hence, they thought to redeem themselves from the glaring contradictions which Singleton had placed them in before the public. But have they done it? Where, Mr. Williams, did your constable Carlin get his legal advice, when he signed a proposition for a treaty; that four articles out of five, as any fool would have known, were foreign to any part of his duty. Probably this “legal officer,” by this time had got a little too near the town of Nauvoo, where there might be danger the Attorney General would stand a chance to have his delicate allfactories offended by the smell of *gunpowder*; which, no doubt, the Chirurgéon advised him, especially, with delicate men like himself, was apt, at times, to bring on Syncope. Upon which he retired from the fatigues of the camp, and took his station at head-quarters, at the city of Quincy, where he could, at least, if his “legal officer” should be so unfortunate as to subscribe his OFFICIAL NAME to any document that might not be in strict accordance with his legal opinions, notify Mr. Bartlett, their mob organ, not to give it publicity, and thereby save their case. But, Mr. Sharp, owing to his engagements in the mob army, and not being apprised of the importance of suppressing this little indiscretion of Mr. Williams’ “legal officer,” has since published it. Mr. Carlin’s name to the above, if there was nothing else, is proof, in the eyes of all men, that he at least understood the issue differently from what Mr. Williams stated it to be; and it shows another thing, that this tool of a constable had lent himself to these designing men, to be put aside or brought forward, as circumstances might require. And it shows still another, that they were willing to draw this ignorant man, by false pretensions, into responsibilities which he was totally incapable of meeting; and when they had got him fully out, left him to himself to commit perjury to his oath of office—if he ever was sworn in—by publicly appending his official signature to things that the highest officer in the United States would not dare to sign. But, we ask, who is to blame? Mr. Carlin

should be looked upon, as he doubtless will, by all good men, with commiseration, while the men, who led on in these deeds of darkness, will receive the unmitigated detestation of an intelligent world.

The next thing to which we propose to call attention, we find in the Quincy Whig, September 2d, being a part of a report of the proceedings connected with the doings of a committee of one hundred, sent up by the Anti-Mormons of Quincy, nominally a committee of *meditation*, but ostensibly to help the mob do what, to all appearances, they could not accomplish without the loss of blood:

"Copy of General Brockman's ultimatum, the original of which was sent to the officer commanding in Nauvoo, and the Trustees of the Church:

"HEAD QUARTERS, Camp Nauvoo, September 15.

"Sir—Yours of this instant has been received, and we are sorry to say we cannot accede to all your propositions, and on our part will make the following, as the last and only proposition we can accept:

1st. That the persons, against whom Mr. Carlin has writs, in the city, must be surrendered.

2d. That this entire posse be permitted to march into the city, so soon as we see proper, and quarter there until the other proposition can be carried into effect.

3d. That the Mormons leave the State within five days from this time.

4th. That all the persons who have taken up arms to resist this posse, and are found in this county twenty-four hours after this treaty is signed, be delivered up to a civil officer of the county.

5th. That all persons who have taken up arms against the posse, march out and stack their arms immediately.

6. That the Mormons be permitted to leave five agents, with their families, until the first of May next, if necessary, for the purpose of disposing, of their property.

7th. That all their arms shall be delivered to some person, to be selected by the Mormons, so soon as the foregoing propositions are complied with.

8th. If the foregoing propositions are complied with, we pledge ourselves, that no destruction of person or property shall take place.

*THOMAS S. BROCKMAN, Commander of
John Carlin's posse, Hancock county.*

In the above, it will be observed, the terms are brought down still closer, "within *five days*," two hours only given for all persons—not Mormons—who had unfortunately taken up arms against the posse, to leave the county or submit. That all persons who had taken up arms against the posse, march out and stack their arms immediately. Now, the heading of this document, all will perceive, addresses itself to too classes of persons in Nauvoo; first, the officers commanding in Nauvoo; secondly, the trustees of the Mormon church. Well, let the church go. But, then, we ask, who was the commander

in Nauvoo, to which this demand to surrender and stacking of arms is made? Was it not to Major Clifford, then in command, and who was acting under a commission and orders from the executive of the State, which orders, to our knowledge, were read to Mr. Brockman, but a few days before, in order that he might be apprised of whom and what he was warring against? Then, if it be true, that Major Clifford was ordered to defend that place, as none will deny, by the Governor, did not T. S. Brockman, on Sept. 15th, 1846, in his demand to all persons to march out and stack their arms immediately, as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Illinois, had invested his name and authority in the person of Major Clifford, demand, through him, to the Governor of Illinois, to march out and ground his arms immediately? Will Governor Ford submit to this? Will the good people of Illinois suffer such insolent indignities slung at them through their chief magistrate? "March out and stack your arms immediately!" Will they, in sight of an intelligent world, suffer this insurgent to run at large, in their midst, a triumphant conqueror, (not of the civil only,) but of the military power of this State. Are they willing that this shall be written as a part of their history. And all found in this communication—which we boldly say, without fear of successful contradiction—bears on its own face, evidence sufficient, if none other, that his object was to set all law and authority at open defiance, and trample it under his rebellious feet. And, Great God! shall we tell it to the world, when he and his damnable mob have gained a perfect triumph, and now by the same means resorted to before, viz: a system of mob meetings and resolutions, have already commenced a crusade against another class of their fellow-citizens, whom they call Jack-Mormons, but of whom every honest man knows to be that portion of this community who are opposed to violence and mobs, and in favor of law and order. And when the Governor, mainly, as we believe, through the influence of the good people of Springfield, has marched a small force, in his own person, to Hancock county, to protect the newly proscribed persons of that county, he, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Illinois, permits this insurgent, at this very moment,

to dog him from place to place, and in a public meeting, almost in his very presence, declare that, so soon as his back is turned, he will expel them again, "*less tenderly than before.*"

There is another thing that, we think, ought to be noted in this "ultimatum" of Brockman's, that will explain why it is now necessary that the Governor should be in Nauvoo; and certain gentlemen in Quincy, are mocking at his efforts to reinstate new citizens, that were chased away with, or before the Mormons. In this we see the Mormons were to have five days, but other persons to *leave immediately*; which shows, conclusively, that it was a part of their policy to banish other persons besides Mormons, which is another of their climaxes of iniquity. Not enough to ground their arms in submission, and become obedient to mob rule; but banishment, immediately, was their doom; and the secret of this operation should come out—the most of the new citizens who were required to go immediately were merchants, and had property, that must be left behind, and which could be plundered. If not this, why forced off sooner than the Mormons? "Can the Committee of one hundred tell?"

But the next item in this history to which we call attention, is a part of the doings of the Committee of one hundred, as it was called—which, by the way, turned out to be less than sixty, designating themselves, as we now discover from looking over their proceedings, as a committee of the citizens of Quincy, and which we beg leave to correct; and state, that said committee was chosen and sent by a meeting of Anti-Mormons of Quincy, in which meeting it was publicly proclaimed, that none but decided Anti-Mormons must go on said committee; and that several who were appointed on the said committee, supposing them of the same stripe as themselves, refused to go on that account. But, to the point: This committee, after asking, first, that hostilities might cease, pending negotiations. What next think ye, reader, was brought out? Can you imagine? Come! we have a legal man down at the desk now, viz: ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq: There will be none of Singleton's, Brockman's, and Carlin's mistakes and blunders—the "issue fairly formed," will be brought out now. Mr. Johnston lays hold of this subject with a masterly hand,

The issue is to be fully set forth, and written with a legal pen, taken, no doubt, from Quincy—"be silent, oh ye heavens, and listen oh earth"—the "issue fairly formed," and pronounced by ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq., of Quincy, viz: "*That the basis of the accommodation, be the removal of the Mormons from Nauvoo.*" Truth, Mr. Johnston—exactly what was, and always had been the basis of their operations—except what, probably, you did not know; or, if you did, you did not wish to say, viz: that certain new citizens were to be added to the basis. Did Mr. Johnston believe his friends, Mr. Williams, Chittenden, and others, when they stated the issue was to *serve a writ*, and take the body of William Pickett. He did not; and he knew, that to make that the basis of his mediation, would not be entertained a single moment by Brockman and his mob.

But we come now to our last proof, to show that the issue, as it was called, and signed by Archibald Williams, Col. Chittenden, and others, was *false*. Taken, also, from the Quincy Whig, same number of the last:

Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, made and entered into, this sixteenth of September, A. D., 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Haywood, and John S. Fullmer, Trustees in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints of the one part—Thomas S. Brockman, commander of the posse, and John Carlin, special constable and civil head of the posse of Hancock county, of the second part—and Andrew Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

1. The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Col. Brockman, to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock, P. M.

2. The arms to be delivered to the Quincy committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

3. The Quincy committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

4. The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

5. The Mormon population of the city to leave the State, or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

6. Five men, including the Trustees of the Church, and five clerks, with their families, (Wm. Pickett not one of the number,) to be permitted to remain in the city for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

7. Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy committee, to enter the city in the execution of their duty as soon as they think proper.

We, the undersigned, subscribe to, ratify, and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year first above written.

ALMON W. BABBITT,	} Trustees in Trust for the Church
JOSEPH L. HAYWOOD,	
JOHN S. FULLMER,	
ANDREW JOHNSON, Chairman of the Com. of Quincy.	
THOS. S. BROCKMAN, Commanding Posse.	
JOHN CARLIN, Special Constable.	

Here we have the end of Mr. Williams' "posse comitatus," signed, sealed, and delivered by, and in the presence of the Anti-Mormon Committee of one hundred, of Quincy.

Now, here are again seven articles, and signed officially by John Carlin, the "legal officer." Will Mr. Williams point out to the public which one of them demands the body of Mr. Pickett, the man against whom the said John Carlin, a "legal officer," had in his possession a writ, in the service of which he, John Carlin, a "legal officer," had been resisted, and in consequence thereof, Archibald Williams, Col. Chittenden, and others, made a proclamation, setting forth, that it was the "issue fairly formed." "*On the one hand,*" said they "*a large body of men have assembled at Carthage, under the command of a 'legal officer,' to assist him in performing legal duties. They are not excited. They are cool; but determined, at all hazards, to execute the law in Nauvoo, which has always, heretofore, defied it. They are resolved to go to work, systematically, and with ample preparations, but under a full knowledge that, on their own orderly behavior, their character is at stake.*" One item in this treaty even more than proves them false—their blunders, as made on former occasions, by leaving Pickett's name out of their treaties; in which event, the presumption might be, that he had fled the city. But in this, their last lick, as if to make themselves even more false and ridiculous, (if possible,) they notify the world that he was still there; and, instead of making a demand for the surrender of his body, a condition is put in, that he must take his body off, out of their reach. From all of which circumstances, we are forced to the opinion that Carlin never had a properly obtained writ in his possession, against the said William Pickett.

Now, we ask every candid man, can there be but one opinion of the "issue fairly formed," viz: that it was *false, totally false*; and is there any other evidence wanting, than is found in this last treaty, to convict them of being the worst of mobs and their aiders and abettors the worst of mobocrats.

Before leaving these treaties, suffer us to ask the reader to cast his eye again over them. They were offered, or we should say, forced upon the remnant of the remaining portion of the

Mormon population of Nauvoo, (say nothing of what related to new citizens.) The poor, the sick, the widow, and the orphan, a larger portion of whom were too poor to leave for any point; and the rest, in consequence of the violent proceedings of these very men, unable to sell what little they had, to enable them to go. And now we ask, is there a barbarous nation on earth, capable of imposing on an unoffending opponent a more cruel set of terms than is exhibited in these treaties. The Indian Warrior of North America, to the conquered and subdued hero, who had but just wreaked his hands fresh in his brother's blood, for revenge, might equal them. But on the unoffending squaw, and papoose, his native soul would shudder at the thought. Many of the men who originated and imposed these terms are, or we should say profess to be Christians. But we ask, is there religion, philanthropy, *patriotism*, or *HUMANITY* in them.

We must now call back the attention of the reader to the date of the issue which we have just examined, and proceed with the history. It will be remembered, that its date was the 29th of August; on the 31st, two days after it seems the mob must have been pushed hard, if they were not loosing ground. Probably, knowing the issue to be false themselves, it was very rational that others would think so likewise. It, therefore, became necessary that something more exciting should be trumped up to arouse the people, and cause them to turn out. Consequently the attention of the people of Quincy, (and we suppose the same was practiced in other places,) was attracted by the following statement:

QUINCY WHIG—EXTRA.

We have just received the following startling intelligence from Hancock, per A. WILLIAMS, Esq.

On last Saturday evening, the rulers of Nauvoo, requested that Colonel J. B. Chittenden, would go over from Carthage to Nauvoo, for the purpose of settling in a peaceable manner, the troubles in the county. The request was brought by the Rev. Mr. Babbitt.

Col. Chittenden, accordingly went into Nauvoo that night, and was to return the next morning by ten o'clock, A. M. He had not returned at Sun-setting yesterday, and one of the new citizens came into Col. Singleton's camp yesterday evening, and said that J. B. Backenstos told him, that they had taken Col. Chittenden prisoner, and intended to keep him.

How many of his neighbors and countrymen are willing to aid in his rescue, from this band of cut-throats?

QUINCY, Monday morning, August 31.

The above startling intelligence called out the following

meeting in Quincy, the proceedings of which are found in the Quincy Whig, Wednesday morning, September 2d:

Quincy Waking up!—A Call for Volunteers!—Public Meeting!

At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Quincy, convened at the Court House, pursuant to public notice, on Monday evening, August 31st—Major J. H. Holton, was called to the Chair, and A. Jonas, Esq., appointed Secretary. The object of the meeting was then stated by H. L. Prentiss, when A. Williams, Esq., was called on to address the meeting, who responded to the call and made a statement concerning the situation of affairs in Hancock county.

The following resolutions were then offered to the consideration of the meeting, which were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That we have learned with feelings of deep indignation, of the disgraceful capture and detention by the Mormons, of our esteemed fellow-citizen—Col. J. B. Chittenden.

Resolved, That said detention demands and shall receive the severest retribution.

Resolved, That a committee of six be appointed to confer and co-operate with Col. James W. Singleton, in reducing the Mormons to obedience and effecting the immediate liberation of Col. Chittenden.

Resolved, That the disgraceful conduct of the Mormons, in inviting Col. Chittenden to their city, and then treacherously holding him as prisoner, proves them entirely unworthy of all confidence, and precludes all negotiation with them.

Calvin A. Warren, Esq., was then called upon and addressed the meeting.

The Chair then appointed the following gentlemen a committee, in accordance with the second resolution: A. Williams, S. M. Bartlett, W. B. Powers, H. L. Prentiss, Thomas Reid, and John Wood, the second. The meeting then adjourned.

J. H. HOLTON, Chairman.

A. JONAS, Secretary.

The committee appointed under the third resolution in performing the duty assigned them, beg leave to report:

1st. That in cases of emergency delays are dangerous; 2d, that in order to carry out the resolves of the meeting, to assist in executing the laws of the State, it is essentially necessary aid should be given those who are engaged in the legal discharge of their duty in Hancock county, opposed by a mob in Nauvoo—We therefore, recommend that as many mounted volunteers as can be mustered at the Court House in Quincy, on Wednesday morning, the 2d inst., armed for the occasion, ready for marching to the scene of action, with four day's provision. In the mean time the committee will visit Carthage and meet the volunteers at Ursa at 11 o'clock on Wednesday and report as circumstances may require.

THE COMMITTEE.

In the next number of the Quincy Whig, September 9th, Mr. Bartlett, he being one of the Committee, who was sent up to release Colonel Chittenden, in making a statement of things in general, among others, in reference to his detention, made the following statement:—

“P. S.—Since we have returned, we learn that it is reported by those in the interest of the Mormons, that Col. Chittenden was not kept in Nauvoo against his consent. We, (said Mr. Bartlett,) got it from Col. C.'s own lips, that they kept him a part of the day and one night, and during the night was confined in a close dark room. He was also abused in the

streets by a mob, but no personal violence was visited upon him."

In the next number of the Whig, September 16, we find the following from a correspondent:

"P. S.—Col. Chittenden was very sorry to see one little expression in your paper, which was incorrect, in reference to being detained one night and day. It probably was a mistake arising from the fact that Mr. Babbitt, had been there one night previous to their capture. They were detained only from about seven or eight, A. M., to four P. M. T. S."

Now our object in inserting the above items, is not for the purpose of showing contradiction; God knows they are glaring enough. Mr. Williams, states that he, Col. Chittenden, went in on that evening, Saturday. Mr. Bartlett, states that he "had it from Col. C.'s *own lips*, that he was *detained one whole night and part of a day and confined in a dark room*;" The correspondent says, only from seven or eight in the morning, to four in the afternoon; who shall we believe. There are other circumstances about this matter that are of more importance to us than these contradictions.

For instance, the meeting was called on Monday evening, on the intelligence brought by ARCHIBALD WILLIAMS, that his friend, Col. Chittenden, was captured and detained by the Mormons; very well, be it so. What are the means proposed by these men to release him? Would not you suppose that every man of them would arm himself, and march to his rescue? Would you not suppose the alarm bells would have been sounded, cannon fired—drums beat—and a deal of a fuss made, as once *was*, to take measures to release their friend, the Colonel. But was this done? No, sirs! But what? A committee of six be appointed, to go up and co-operate with Col. James W. Singleton, in reducing the Mormons to terms, and effect the immediate liberation of Col. Chittenden. And was this the best show that these revolutionizers of their country's laws could make.

IF THERE ESTEEMED FELLOW-CITIZEN KIDNAPPED by a band of *cut-throats*, and only *five men*. (Wm. B. Powers not concurring,) and they in the form of a committee from the gallant city of Quincy, could be raised to recover him. Was this a specimen, gentlemen, of your chivalry? Are these men

aware how ridiculous this looks in the eyes of sensible men? A stronger proof could not be offered, to show there was a conspiracy, than this. They did not believe it themselves; or if they did, we should hate to be their friend, and in the hands of an enemy, for we should certainly remain there. "But," said the committee, "in cases of emergency, delays are dangerous, that, in order to carry out the resolves of the meeting, to assist in executing the laws of the State, it is essentially necessary aid should be given those who are engaged in the legal discharge of their duty in Hancock county, opposed by a mob in Nauvoo. We, therefore, recommend that, as many MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS as can be mustered at the Court House, in Quincy, on Wednesday morning, the 2d inst., armed for the occasion, ready for marching to the scene of action, with four day's provision. In the meantime, the committee will visit Carthage, and meet the volunteers at Ursa, at 11 o'clock, on Wednesday, and report as circumstances may require." Now here it is, if this committee believed that Col. Chittenden was in duress in Nauvoo, in calling on volunteers to assemble at the Court House, on Wednesday morning, why did they not make this the prominent point. They seem to have forgotten their friend; and the execution of the law in Hancock, was the foremost idea with them. But how many assembled for said purpose? not a man at the Court House, we believe. If there was one went, he sneaked out of town in a manner not to be seen—which facts prove conclusively, that these men did not believe their own story—or they are the last people in the world to rely on in cases of emergency. But, lest some may doubt whether we are right, let Mr. Bartlett speak on this point. After he had returned as one of the committee, and did not meet his mounted volunteers at Ursa, in his next paper, September 9th, said:

"Another meeting was held at the Court House, on Saturday afternoon last, to raise recruits to go to the assistance of the officer's posse in Hancock. Several speeches were made, and some fifteen volunteers offered their services, (who were they?) Papers were placed in the hands of individuals, to circulate in the town and country, to procure the names of volunteers. We are in hopes these papers will be rapidly filled up; but we confess, from the feeling manifested in this city,

our hopes are not very sanguine, our people are too far from the scene of Mormon oppression for them to feel the active sympathy which the occasion calls for. This, and the fact that emissaries from Nauvoo have been busy amongst us, makes it an UP HILL BUSINESS for those who feel any inclination to help the Anti-Mormons."

In the same paper Mr. Bartlett made a strong and labored appeal to his fellow-citizens again to turn out. Here is part of it:

"All that seems necessary to embody this feeling into an effective form, is for some of our principle men in the city and county to step forward and say *they will go*. We are satisfied that if even a small number were to take the lead, that hundreds would follow. The example would be all powerful on other counties. *For one, we are ready at any moment, to make one of a number of volunteers*; but *singly and alone*, we can accomplish but little. With a force of three or four hundred from this county the whole difficulty can be settled without firing a gun. And we appeal to the Anti-Mormons of the county to come up to the work;—your aid is *essential*—it is *ABSOLUTELY* necessary."

Now, reader, here is our chief object in introducing the above extracts. It is no pleasure to us to show up the contradictions of our neighbors. It is to disabuse the public mind, and, if possible, forever silence the slander of a few men in their efforts to identify the people at large of Quincy as sanctioning the Hancock mob. We have shown that extraordinary means were used to decoy our citizens into its active support. Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Williams, and others, after all their efforts, could not raise a corporal's guard to go; and this speaks volumes. The most they could do was to raise a lot of boys and thoughtless men, at the Court House, under pretence, as we have shown, of late news from Hancock, to hiss and make a great noise, and bluster about Mormons, Jack Mormons, &c. Now, we ask, are these men willing that this exhibition of the patriotism and devotion to the laws—if it be so—on the part of the people of Quincy, shall go forth to the world as the proper feeling of the chivalry of her citizens? We know not how they feel, but we believe there are hundreds who, when this matter is fairly tested, will repel such a charge, as a slander upon her citizens. We have already noticed an instance, when

they had reason to believe, as was supposed, that their Governor was in imminent danger, by the base treachery of the Hancock people, that three hundred men were on their march to his rescue in the space of a few hours. The truth is, the people of Quincy, generally understood, this matter, and were not to be driven blindly into the support of a *civil war* against their own government, by the false representations of a few designing demagogues. Every man of any intelligence is aware how easy it is, by the circulation of such bills as the above, and other rumors that float through the country, on such occasions, to call out, at a Court House, a lot of men and boys, as we before said, to gaze and gape for the latest news. How ridiculous it is to set these things down as a fair criterion of public sentiment!

The true test of public opinion lays in *action*; and in this instance we are happy to have it in our power—after showing that extraordinary means were resorted to—to refute this slander upon our city, triumphantly; which shows, most conclusively, she is a law-loving and law-abiding city.—True, a few prominent men—and to their shame and everlasting disgrace be it spoken, they were, with but few exceptions, mainly lawyers, (perhaps one man, only, of the healing art—(won for themselves a prominence, in the ranks, by seeking places in public meetings, and on committees, brought to our doors much of the disgrace. But, be it remembered, to them, as individuals, this disgrace belongs, and not to our people at large.

Another thing, we must acknowledge that many, who have from the beginning of this matter, disapproved of it with the strongest feelings of indignation, have suffered it to go on without boldly stepping forward, as we should have done, and entered our public as well as private protest against it. In this neglect of duty we have erred, and we can only offer the following reason as an apology for our conduct in this particular.

In the first place, we could not believe, knowing the former character of the men that led on in this matter, they would run into such violent extremes. In the second place, differing with them in feeling and judgment, we chose to absent ourselves from their meetings; consequently, were not aware of

the fact that matters were being pushed as—it seems, from looking over the history—they have been. In the third place, we have a Governor, whose business, and only duty it is, to take the cognizance of all matters of public grievances; and it is time enough for all good citizens to interpose their services when called on in a regular and legal manner. If we should see one of our neighbors attempting to burn another's dwelling, we should think it a poor way to stop him by snatching up a lighted torch and apply it to his. And, indeed, in this short and homely figure is brought out, in our opinion, the whole history of Hancock, Mormon and Anti-Mormon troubles.

In conclusion of our history of the Hancock mob, we here insert an extract from the closing remarks of the report of Mr. Brayman, the Governor's Special Agent, sent to that county during the progress of that mob. Mr. Brayman's report is too long, or we should like to insert it entire. We give that part of it, however, that relates to the final triumphs of the mob. He being present, consequently speaks from personal knowledge. We will just say, before we close, we visited the camp of the mob ourself, on the day they marched from Carthage, to within a few miles of Nauvoo, at the request of Maj. Flood, in company with the Hon. John Wood, and Mr. Joel Rice, all of Quincy, for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, if something could not be done to stop the violent proceedings, and thereby save our State from the indellible disgrace that was likely to be brought upon her hitherto fair escutcheon. But we were not *much* disappointed to find all our efforts entirely abortive. Notwithstanding, Mr. Wood is—as is Mr. Rice—one of the oldest citizens, and we may add, one of the first pioneers of this country; whose locks have become whitened from the frosts of many winters; who had doubtless traveled the very grounds upon which Brockman's mob was then encamped, over and over again, long before one half of this mob were in being; yet it was of no avail.

While we were offering our mediations of peace, this renegade priest—if it be not sacrilege to call him a priest—who is a disgrace to his God and to his country, ordered a charge, in our presence, to be made on the picket guard of the town. And

afterward, upon a second effort, on the part of Messrs. Wood and Rice, for terms of peace or compromise, when they had succeeded in obtaining a written proposition, from him and his tool of a constable, with a pledge that all hostilities should cease, (this was in the afternoon of the day,) until 9 o'clock the next morning, before they had got out of gun shot, on their way to the opposite party, he commenced firing again with small arms and artillery. Our observation of this mob brought fresh to our recollection all we had imagined of the horrors of the French revolution, as has the repeated mob meetings, of which we have already spoken, the Jacobin clubs of Paris. But hear Mr. Brayman:

"Under these circumstances, the Quincy Committee found it difficult to interpose their meditation, and were compelled to perform their duties a portion of the time while hostilities were in active progress, during which flags of truce, under which they communicated with the respective parties, could not wholly shield their persons from danger. It was feared that the final struggle would be brought on before the committee could produce an accommodation. The Anti-Mormon force, was within striking distance of the city—determined to enter, at all hazards, and equally determined, if resisted, to make the destruction of life and property complete. Nothing but their respect for that committee, *all of their own party, and many of them active leaders in it*, held them back from a headlong assault, in which they would have been victorious it is true, but at an expense of life and property, and amidst scenes of barbarous outrage.—Fearing the worst, business of every kind was suspended in the city, citizens were removing their property, and families were fleeing their devoted habitations. Those who could find boats went up or down the river, and many were permitted to cross, notwithstanding the hostility to them on the other side.—Provisions were scarce, and suffering and destitution extensively prevailed.

On Wednesday, the 16th, the Committee succeeded in bringing the parties to terms. The articles of capitulation have all the forms and sanctions required on the surrender of a conquered city in a war between nations—the citizens of Nauvoo being, however, by the terms, banished instead of becoming prisoners of war. If I may be indulged in a digression from so grave a theme, I suggest that when the well-protected—well-fed—well-patronized, half-civilized—robbing *rancheros*, who inhabit the conquered city of Metamoros, read these terms, (if

read they can,) they will rejoice that they are not citizens of the State of Illinois.

Presuming that there is not another such a treaty extant—that it is the *first* and *only* one of its kind ever made among people professing to have learned the first rudiments of civilization and humanity, and trusting that it will be the *last*, I here give you a copy, as it was finally ratified and signed by the contracting parties.

As soon as these articles were concluded, the firing ceased, Major Clifford, signified his intention to withdraw his forces from the city. No volunteers having joined him from any other quarter, his force consisted of those only—new citizens and Mormons, whom he found under arms on taking the command, not probably exceeding at any time, 250 men. These terms were not definitely signed until the morning of Thursday, the 17th, but confident of their ratification, the Mormon population had been busy through the night in removing. So firmly had they been taught to believe that their lives, their city and temple, would surely fall a sacrifice to the vengeance of their enemies, if surrendered to them, that they fled in consternation determined to be beyond their reach at all hazards. This scene of confusion, fright and distress, was continued throughout the forenoon. In every part of the city scenes of destitution, misery and woe met the eye. Families were hurrying away from their homes, without a shelter,—without means of conveyance—without tents, money, or a day's provision, with as much of their household stuff as they could carry in their hands. Sick men and women were carried upon their beds—weary mothers with helpless babes dying in their arms hurried away—all fleeing, they scarcely knew or cared whither, so it was from their enemies, whom they feared more than the waves of the Mississippi, or the heat, and hunger and lingering life and dreaded death of the prairies on which they were about to be cast. The ferry boats were crowded, and the river bank was lined with anxious fugitives, sadly awaiting their turn to pass over and take up their solitary march to the wilderness.

Every precaution was used to secure the observance of the pledge to "protect person and property from violence," on the entrance of the Anti-Mormon force, and during their stay in the city, as provided in the above stipulations. This was a source of anxiety to the Quincy Committee; and in the belief that the faith thus solemnly pledged, would be observed, I used my utmost endeavors to quiet the apprehensions of the people of Nauvoo, on this point. In addition to those stipulations, I find in the published report of the Committee, that "after the column of march was formed, in pursuance of the order of the

day, previously issued by Gen. Brockman, he reviewed the entire column, including the numerous spectators on the ground, and required of every individual, as he passed, a pledge, by an appointed signal, that he would obey orders, and respect persons and property; declaring that no person who refused the pledge, whether soldiers or spectators, should march into the city with him."

The force of Gen. Brockman marched into the city at three o'clock. From fifteen hundred to two thousand men marched in procession, through the city, and encamped on the south side, near the river. The march was conducted without the least disorder, or trespass upon persons or property. The streets were deserted—the most obnoxious persons had left the city, leaving but little to provoke the resentment of the victors. But a few Mormons remained in the city, and these were hastening their preparations for crossing the river, as soon as possible. On my return from Carthage to the city, on Friday, about noon, I learned that the Quincy Committee had closed its labors at sunrise, and left for home, leaving a sub-committee to complete the reception and delivery of the arms of those Mormons who had not yet departed.

I also learned that, in addition to the duty which Gen. Brockman had assumed, under the treaty of superintending the removal of the Mormons from the State, he had issued an order for the expulsion from the State of all who had borne arms in defence of the city against his force, and all who were in any manner identified with the Mormons.

It could scarcely be believed, that such an order, in such palpable and gross violation of the unanimous pledge which had been signed by the officers, agreed to by the whole force, and endorsed by the Quincy Committee, had been given. But, on applying to Gen. Brockman, I learned that such an order *had* been given, and would be executed. This order was rigorously enforced throughout the day, with many circumstances of the utmost cruelty and injustice. Bands of armed men traversed the city, entering the houses of citizens, robbing them of arms, throwing their household goods out of doors, insulting them, and threatening their lives. Many were seized, and marched to the camp, and after a military examination, set across the river, for the crime of sympathising with the Mormons, or the still more heinous offence of *fighting in defence of the city, under the command of officers commissioned by you*, and instructed to make that defence. It is, indeed, painfully true, that many citizens of this State, have been driven from it by an armed force, because impelled by our encouragement, and a sense of duty, they have bravely defended their homes, and

the homes of their neighbors, from the assaults of a force, assembled for unlawful purposes.

In the face of the pledge given to "protect persons and property from all violence," (excepting, of course, *Mormon* persons and property,) it may be estimated that nearly one-half of the new citizens of Nauvoo have been forced from their homes, and dare not return. Thus far, these citizens have appealed in vain for protection and redress.

It remains yet to be seen whether there is efficacy in the law, power in the executive arm, or potency in public opinion, sufficient to right this grievous wrong. It is disgraceful to the character of the State, and a humiliation not to be borne, to permit a military leader, acting without the shadow of lawful authority, but in violation of law and right, not only to thwart the will of the executive, but to impose upon citizens the penalty of banishment for acting under it.

On Friday evening, the Anti-Mormon force was disbanded, and sent home, with the exception of one hundred volunteers, who remained to enforce the provisions of the treaty upon the *Mormons*, and to carry out Gen. Brockman's orders, for "the protection of persons and property from violence."

The last article that we shall notice is taken from the Quincy Whig of September 23d, in which Mr. Bartlett sums up the murders committed on either side, in which he makes the number to be six to each party; and closes up his last touch, as we would have thought, on this disgraceful subject, in the following words:

"The above are the number of deaths caused by the *Mormons* in Hancock. The expense to the State, and county of Hancock, caused by their presence, must have been immense indeed. All the facts, connected with these difficulties, will be collected and put in form, we presume, by some one hereafter. When it is done, it will prove an interesting chapter in the history of the State."

We do not know what Mr. Bartlett's notions are of what it takes to make an interesting chapter in Illinois history. We are ready to conclude, from the manner he speaks of the prospective, he looks ahead, for himself, laurels of no ordinary cast, which are to entwine his own brow; perhaps, a *monument*, to be erected some where in Hancock, on some eminent bluff on the banks of the Mississippi, in *memory* of the triumphs of *mob* reign, on which his own name and *distinguished services* shall be noted as deserving the highest praise. But in this, we

think, he will find himself mistaken. That distinguished honor will be disputed by the claims of a number of the legal gentlemen of the city of Quincy, who have fought by his side, contending manfully for the honors of victory, particularly by one or two, who armed themselves, cap-a-pie—which Mr. Bartlett did not do—and even left for the bloody field. If not to them, to some one, or all, of the military committee. Of this, however, it is of no particular account to us which one of them obtains the highest honors.

The manner in which this editor speaks of this interesting chapter, as he calls it, and the *almighty dollar* he seems to mourn after, that has been spent, is in perfect keeping with his vulgar taste and sordid appetite. The honor, dignity, and good order of the government, under which he lives, are all of no value, in this man's eyes, when brought alongside of the gratification of his own gluttonous, vulgar, and sordid tastes and feelings, which has truly characterized him in all he has done and said on this disgraceful subject. Howsoever, this part of Illinois history may look in the eyes of the men who have figured so conspicuously in the tragedy, we think there can be but one opinion, amongst the truly refined, cultivated and more liberally educated portion of community: That is, that this chapter—as Mr. Bartlett calls it—when written, will be, if we are not greatly deceived, a dark spot on its escutcheon; that instead of proving an *interesting chapter* to the actors in the scene, will hang over them as a dark pall, the recollections of which, like the poisoned fangs of the adder, will prey upon their very vitals—that will make them rue the day they become identified with this disgraceful enterprise.

Since Mr. Bartlett has brought up the cases of the murdered, and designate them by name, we will now state the facts in the case, which cannot be disproved.

The first murders that were committed, of the twelve names that he has given us, were Joseph and Hiram Smith, who were murdered in the summer of '44, in the Carthage jail. And, we venture to say, the circumstances under which these two men were murdered, are without a parallel in the history of the civilized world. The French revolutionists gave Louis XVI a form of a trial;—our Savior, before he was crucified,

was condemned at Pilate's bar; but, in the above instance, was added to the crime of cold blooded, deliberate murder, the basest treachery to our government. The bodies of these two men were demanded, by the people of Hancock, to be surrendered to the laws, on charge of being guilty of high crimes.

They, (the Smiths,) made known to the Executive of the State that they feared violence would be committed on their persons; upon which he pledged them protection—exactd a pledge from the citizens, that they would back him up in his assurance of the same. They left their homes and thier friends, come forward and delivered themselves up, were placed in the Carthage jail. A guard of soldiers was placed around said jail, by the Governor, expressly to prevent any outrage being committed, and while the Governor was absent in Nauvoo, with but a small detachment of men, and when they undoubtedly thought to endanger the Governor's personal safety, supposing they would revenge themselves when they heard of the deaths of the Smith's on him. An hundred men, in broad day, rushed upon the goal and butchered them both; the treacherous guard conniving at, if they did not aid in the bloody deed; and when they had committed this deed of treachery and of blood, coward like, must send runners through the country, with a lie in their mouth, and tell the people that the Mormons made the attack, and not having sense enough to keep their base treachery to themselves, they must need tell they expected Gov. Ford was murdered also; the very thing they designed, if possible, to accomplish. But in this they were disappointed, the forbearance and control of passion exhibited by the Mormons on that trying occasion singularly contrasts with their own violent deeds, and ought to this day, be a rebuke to them which would make their cheeks burn with shame and confusion.

After this exhibition of their infamous treachery, they should have been the last people in the world to talk about calling on civil posses, to have men surrender themselves into their bloody hands. And, who would have thought, knowing these facts, that men, claiming respectability, would lend their personal influence to aid such men under pretence of a civil "posse comitatus," to have other men surrendered to become the victims of their base treachery.

The next murder, that our mob editor, has called up is Dr. Marshall, who fell in an affray with Deming, neither of them Mormons, as Mr. Bartlett well knew; and we are credibly informed, the point in dispute, at the time the affray took place, was in no way connected with the Mormons. Both of these men we doubt not were excellent citizens, and the affray an unfortunate one.

The next two casses were Franklin A. Worrell, and McBratny. These two men were killed during the house-burning difficulties. It is well known in Quincy, and stated by Mr. Bartlett, as we have shown in the outset of this history, that the Anti-Mormons, about one year after the murder of the two Smith's, leagued together, and commenced operations to burn out the Mormons throughout Hancock and a part of Adams.—And, let it be remembered, that this disgraceful business, of setting fire to houses, and driving women and children, which Mr. Bartlett, pronounced "*as bad as the savages*," commenced in Adams county; so says Mr. Bartlett, himself; and, if we were to permit ourselves to stop and inform our readers of some more of their audacious conduct, such as firing on their own meeting, and then raising the hue and cry that it was done by the Mormons, to give some show of color for a commencement, we would do them no more than justice.

But, we want to ask our mob lawyers in Quincy, in particular, if the time was ever known in Adams county, when the law could not be enforced. Be it known, then, that the commencement of the disgraceful house-burning business belongs to Adams, where there cannot be the shadow of a reason offered, in palliation of their conduct. While this system of house-burning was progressing, which resulted in the destruction—as is admitted now by all—of from 70 to 100 houses; Mr. Bartlett says, by way of excusing the matter, mostly log houses, of but little value—as much as to say, they were poor people, therefore, of but little consequence. But which was, truly, the greater shame! Sheriff Backenstos, in attempting, in obedience to his oath of office, to put a stop to such unlawful and disgraceful conduct, by calling on a "*posse comitatus*,"—which posse, as it seems, was composed of Mormons—it

being a notorious fact, that no other persons would join a posse, however they deprecated the burning of houses, not daring to enlist under the law to oppose them, which would be only to call down on their own heads the odious epithet of Jack-Mormon—in which event, the lighted torch would be readily turned to their dwellings, and their families turned out into the storms with the Mormons. In the efforts of the Sheriff to stop the ravages of this mob of house-burners, the two men above named unfortunately were killed—whether rightfully or wrongfully, God only knows. The Sheriff, subsequently, was indicted—and, as we have already stated, acquitted.

Now, however, the hot-headed, impetuous Anti-Mormons in and about Quincy may rant and swear. We are bound to say, that after the unprecedented murder of the two Smiths', and the elapse of an entire year, and no public demonstrations of revenge on the part of the Mormons—then for them to commence another public outrage, if possible, worse than the first, was it possible—we put this question to the sober sense of an intelligent world—in the bounds of human nature, for a people to stand by and see women and children chased from their homes, by hundreds, and their houses burnt to ashes, and not stop it, especially when they were ordered by the proper officer of the county thus to do? Take Mr. Bartlett's own statements, as given in the outset of this history, viz: *That it is feared that this rising against the Mormons, is not confined to the Morley settlement, but that there is a general understanding amongst the Anties in the northern part of this and Hancock counties, to make a general sweep, burning and destroying the property of the Mormons, wherever it can be found*—that Senator Davis had a company on their way to join the Anties—Captain Dunn, of Augusta, another—Col. Levi Williams, (said he,) of Green Plains, has ordered out *his brigade*, it is said, *to aid the Anti-Mormons*. The Anties from Schuyler and the adjoining counties, are flocking in, and great destruction of life and property, may be expected.

Now we put it to the serious and sober reflection of any honest and candid man: Was it to be wondered at, in the face of such demonstrations as these, that somebody should be

killed? Or is it not to be wondered at, that more were not killed? And here we take the broad, and we think the correct ground, viz: it was the duty of the Sheriff to put a stop to the house-burning, though he should have killed the whole of the men engaged in it.

At this juncture of time, the leading members of the bar,* of Quincy, stepped forward, as we have already shown, and took up the quarrel, notwithstanding the Governor of the State, also sent some troops into that county, under the command of Gen. John J. Hardin, who commanded the peace of said county in a manner becoming the dignity and rank of a public officer who meant to be obeyed, and compromised no part of the dignity and authority of the State to the suberviency of any political factions of designing men; nor stopped to heed the knavish councils of political intriguers, *much less the silly councils of the sycophantic demagogue*. He, as every public officer is wont to do, with the voice of command that knows no man, only as he obeys the laws of his country, bid the people of Hancock to their homes, and they obeyed. But the influential members of the bar, in Quincy, went on with their *military organization and public meetings*, and *mob speeches*, fanning the flame of popular passion. Although Gen. Hardin left in said county a small detachment of men, under the command of Maj. Warren, no sooner was it announced that they were to be disbanded, and notwithstanding they had from over Maj. Warren's own signature, that the Mormons were leaving the county with all the means that *God and nature had given them*, and as we have shown already, that there were desperate characters in that county, determined on a row. But the blow still must be struck, if these men can exculpate themselves honorably of the dark responsibilities they have assumed in the eyes of an intelligent world, then we are mistaken, and wish to remain so. The next murder in Mr. Bartlett's list was Daubenheyer and Wilcox, assassinated by Mormons! Be it so, we know not, but suppose it true. The next Durfee, assassinated by the Anti-Mormons. The rest

*It is proper for us here to state, that when we have used the term: "leading members of the bar," we mean those only who have identified themselves with this disgraceful enterprise. Also, that there are a number of honorable exceptions in Quincy.

fell in the late battles, three on the Mormon side, and one on the Anti-Mormon.

Doubtless, our Anti-Mormon friends will be ready to construe the above into a vindication of Mormon character. If so, they are mistaken, we have felt it to be our duty to make the above statement of facts, which they cannot disprove, from entirely different considerations, to wit: to vindicate the laws of our country—which laws are dearer to us than the friendship of man—from that unprecedented disgrace that these men have brought upon them, when, through their perversions of truth, they told the world as an excuse; for their violence, that there were evils that the laws and authorities could not reach by their ordinary channels. This, we conceive, we have fully and completely done, by showing that the law was not appealed to—much less its strength tested by experiment.

As to the wickedness of the Mormons, we will admit, if these men wish it, that they were worse than the Anti-Mormons have represented them to be. But, we will have you understand gentlemen, that this charge against them is not proven by your testimony or conduct. The world is left, so far as you are concerned, to draw their conclusions on this subject from other sources than yourselves; you have completely prostrated your own evidence, you are not good witnesses—we believe it was susceptible of proof before the proper tribunals of our country, that the Smiths' were bad men. The Executive of the State was in a fair way to have it done. But you, the Anti-Mormons, by that violent disregard of all law, which has characterized all your movements, circumvented the Governor, and, so far as you are concerned, the world has no right to know whether they were innocent or guilty. If your evidence in the case is to be taken at all, (which we contend should not be,) it goes conclusively to prove them innocent; if not, why intercept the law, and instead of proving them guilty men, as we firmly believe they were, make them martyrs to their religion, as has been done.

A few reflections on this subject, and we will relieve the patience of the reader—no doubt burning with indignation and contempt for the means, if not for the men, who would be

the instruments to kindle the fires of popular passion, and fan the flame of discord and insubordination to the laws, until the latter have been trampled under foot, and the most sacred and invaluable rights of American citizens have been violated.

The first reflection that we shall make, and one we conceive of vital importance to the whole American people, and of which every free citizen of these United States, from Maine to Texas, if you please, ought to feel himself directly interested in is, that this transaction, viz: the banishing from their homes and their country, from fifteen to twenty thousand human beings, without the shadow of law; and where banishment is no part of our criminal code, argues conclusively one of two things: *First*, a clear admission, on our part, that the Constitution and Laws of these United States, are insufficient to govern the people. That there is not sufficient power and influence, in this Government, to enforce her laws—consequently, we resort to forcible banishment, without trial, not only of the guilty, but of the innocent also. Yes, my countrymen! of the innocent babe, that dandles on its mother's knee, and fondles on her breast, whose little heart was never known to sin, and whose innocent lips never spoke guile. Yes, the unborn child, banished by the thousand from this Republic—this boasted land of freedom—into the wilderness, to perish by starvation, cold, or to be devoured by the wild beasts of the forest.

Or, *secondly*, That there is not sufficient virtue and intelligence with the American people, to administer their own laws. An army has been raised—war levied—battles fought—victories won—a city sacked—and men, women, and children driven from their homes, never to return, by men in high places, and no law to reach and bring them to a merited account.

And now, we ask, are the American people willing to make this humiliating and disgraceful acknowledgement? Are they willing that this shall be written as part of their history, to be read and known by all civilized nations of the earth? Are they willing to entail this disgrace to their country, and their country's laws, and hand it down to their children, as a thing that could not be helped. And, we must recollect, too, this has not been done by the ignorant, driven on under the storms of popular

passion. It has been done, as we have proven beyond the power of contradiction, coolly and deliberately, by men in high stations, who have raised an organized army, in open defiance to the Constitution and the Laws, and have come off triumphant conquerors, and driven the command of the highest power known to the State of Illinois, from the field, in disgrace and confusion.

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Another reflection we will make, in connection with this subject, that civil war has ever been the bane and the ruin of all republics like our own. The American people have nothing to fear from a foreign foe—but should ever tremble at the smallest appearance of civil discord. In union, and a firm reliance upon the Constitution and Laws of our beloved country, our glorious star-spangled-banner will ever float in triumph on the breeze.

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of the one, equally affects the whole. The Union cannot be preserved when one of the confederated States have been revolutionized, and her authority and dignity, trampled under foot by a civil insurrection, that publicly and openly covered nine counties, that have set all the rest at open defiance, and denied allegiance to the executive head. We say, again, this subject commends itself to the close and faithful consideration of the present administrators of this confederated government. The constitution of the United States, undoubtedly, has been shamefully violated. It is not a question of Mormonism. The Mormons, we think it is plain, would have left the country anyhow. Of this, however, it is nothing to our purpose whether they would or would not. *The question is*, will this government permit a **CIVIL WAR** to be waged, law and authority defied and set at naught, without investigation, and without bringing the instruments to a merited account? Or, in other words, will she permit *treason* committed to run at large and go unpunished?

APPENDIX.

"ANTI-MORMON MEETING.—A public meeting of the citizens of Hancock county, held at Carthage, on Wednesday, the 16th October, 1846, to adopt measures for the permanent security and welfare of the county:

Resolved, That no *Mormon*, except the committee left at Nauvoo for the transaction of business, should hereafter be suffered to come into Hancock county.

Resolved, That none of the expelled *Jack Mormons* should be permitted again to reside in said county.

Resolved, That any person who shall harbor *Mormons*, or encourage their return to the county, ought to be added to the list of expelled *Jack Mormons*.

Resolved, That the *Mormon* committee at Nauvoo, are expected to dispose of all the property belonging to that community as speedily as practicable; for the citizens of Hancock are determined that no tie or connexion of interest shall be left to lure that people back, or give excuse for their future visits to the county; and whenever it becomes necessary, will themselves sever all such connexion.

Resolved, That the thanks of the people are due to the committee of old citizens who have remained at Nauvoo since the general expulsion of the *Mormons*, to prevent their return, to remove as fast as practicable those left on account of sickness, and also to remove such *Jack Mormons* as were found to be dangerous to the peace and security of the county.

Resolved, That it is inexpedient longer to exact the services of said committee, as nearly all the invalid *Mormons* have already departed, and the remainder are expected to go so soon as their health will permit; but we assure the *Mormons* and their allies, that if found collecting again in Nauvoo, we shall ever be ready to visit them as a "committee of the whole."

And *Whereas*, Governor Ford, has issued a proclamation, dated the 12th instant, inviting such of the militia of Illinois, as are disposed to volunteer for the purpose, to march by his authority to Hancock county, under the pretence of vindicating violated laws, but with the real design, as we believe of stationing a force in Nauvoo, to protect and sustain the expelled *Mormons* and *Jack Mormons* in returning to occupy the city, and of thus undoing what it has cost the county so much to accomplish: Therefore,

Resolved, That the presence of Governor Ford and his troops, is not required by the best interests of the county, nor desired by either the old or new citizens of the same, and can only serve to embroil it afresh in strife and turmoil, and prevent the sale of *Mormon* church property, by encouraging that people, and their mischievous allies, to return to Nauvoo, where they can only live in a state of perpetual warfare, and so long as they may be backed by a force stronger than the county and its friends.

Resolved, That we deem it the duty of ILLINOIS MILITIA to ponder well before lending themselves to the cause of the *Mormons*, and becoming instrumental in bringing back upon us a civil feud which has raged for years, destroying the prosperity of the county, and endangering the lives and exhausting the means of its citizens.

Resolved, That it would be as great madness in the *Mormon* and *Jack Mormons* to return to Nauvoo under the protection of the Governor, as folly in the Governor himself to extend that protection; for the time must come that this force will be withdrawn, when they will again be expelled less tenderly than before.

Resolved, That it would be prudent in the Governor, and the people of Springfield, to look beyond *Mormon* and *Jack Mormon* reports, and ascertain the facts in reference to the condition of Hancock county, and the acts of its citizens, before becoming too much excited, or passing sentence of condemnation.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to draw up an address to the public, embodying a true account of the causes and circumstances of the late war in Hancock county.

Whereupon, T. C. Sharp, J. H. Sherman, J. W. Brattle, Joseph Sibley, and Abram Van Tuyl, were appointed as the committee, to draft an address to the public.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the proceedings and resolutions of this meeting be published in the Warsaw Signal.

J. H. SHERMAN, Secretary.

ABRAM VAN TUYL, Chairman.

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of the one, equally affects the whole. The Union cannot be preserved when one of the confederated States have been revolutionized, and her authority and dignity, trampled under foot by a civil insurrection, that publicly and openly covered nine counties, that have set all the rest at open defiance, and denied allegiance to the executive head. We say, again, this subject commends itself to the close and faithful consideration of the present administrators of this confederated government. The constitution of the United States, undoubtedly, has been shamefully violated. It is not a question of Mormonism. The Mormons, we think it is plain, would have left the country anyhow. Of this, however, it is nothing to our purpose whether they would or would not. *The question is*, will this government permit a **CIVIL WAR** to be waged, law and authority defied and set at naught, without investigation, and without bringing the instruments to a merited account? Or, in other words, will she permit *treason* committed to run at large and go unpunished?

passion. It has been done, as we have proven beyond the power of contradiction, coolly and deliberately, by men in high stations, who have raised an organized army, in open defiance to the Constitution and the Laws, and have come off triumphant conquerors, and driven the command of the highest power known to the State of Illinois, from the field, in disgrace and confusion.

Another reflection we will make, and to which we invite the attention of our countrymen is a precedent has been set and firmly established, for other restless and insubordinate spirits to follow, when they, in their omnipotent wills, are disposed to call a public meeting, and employ a few unprincipled lawyers, by public speeches to inflame the mind; and, in this way raise a crusade against some part of the community, that may, be obnoxious to them in their notion of things.

Another reflection we will make, in connection with this subject, that civil war has ever been the bane and the ruin of all republics like our own. The American people have nothing to fear from a foreign foe—but should ever tremble at the smallest appearance of civil discord. In union, and a firm reliance upon the Constitution and Laws of our beloved country, our glorious star-spangled-banner will ever float in triumph on the breeze.

But if a civil feud must be tolerated in Illinois, because it was led on by men in high stations now, another may, with equal propriety, and far less power to check it, be tolerated in another State next year; and still another the next, until the people, as they undoubtedly will, have lost all confidence in the integrity and justice of the constitution and the laws, when there will be nothing wanting but for some military chieftain to mount the whirlwind and ride the storm of popular passion and fury, and away goes, forever, the liberties of our country. The crowned-heads of Europe may then sing to us our funeral requiem, and laugh at our madness and folly.

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